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# UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA

## THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD

HARRISBURG · PENNSYLVANIA · JANUARY · 1936

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# Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania

September 1, 1932 — December 31, 1935

Third Annual Report of the
Executive Director
State Emergency Relief Board

State Emergency Relief Administration
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
January, 1936

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COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD
HARRISBURG

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 31, 1935

The Honorable George H. Earle,
Governor of Pennsylvania, and
Chairman, State Emergency Relief Board,
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

My dear Governor:

I have the honor to submit to you "UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA—The Third Annual Report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board."

The report includes an administrative and financial accounting of unemployment relief activities in Pennsylvania during 1935. For the preparation of this report I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Emmett H. Welch, Director of Research and Statistics, and to Mr. Willard E. Solenberger who performed the major task of compilation and editing. Responsibility for the report in its final form and the recommendations set forth in Chapter IV is mine.

Respectfully yours,

Robert Z. Johnson

Executive Director and
Relief Administrator.

293911

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


CHAPTER — PAGE

I. PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

Government and Relief Before the Depression ..... 1

Seventeenth Century Poor Relief in the Twentieth Century. The Rise of Private Social Work.

Local Initiative Tested by the Depression ..... 2

Initial Mistakes. Organized and Emergency Charity. The Collapse of Local Poor Relief. State Aid to the Rescue. RFC Loans—An Intermediate Step.

Federal Relief for an Emergency ..... 5

"No One Shall Starve." Initial Significance. Problems of Partnership.

The March of the Programs ..... 6

Civilian Conservation Corps. Transients. Work Relief—First Phase. Public Works Administration. Civil Works Administration. Federal-State Work Divisions. The "Three-Point Plan." Rural Rehabilitation. Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. Aid to Self-Help Associations. Educational Relief. Federal Works Program, 1935-1936.

II. THE THIRD YEAR OF ORGANIZED RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA

Unemployment Relief Measures in Pennsylvania, 1930-1934 ..... 14

Poor Relief and Private Efforts. First State Aid, December, 1931. Developments of Unified Administration Under the SERB. Improvement of Personnel Standards. The Development of Relief Standards. Work Relief and the CWA Program.

Problems of the Third Year ..... 18

Financial Uncertainty. The Elements of Sound Administration.

Administrative Developments in 1935 ..... 19

1. Determining Eligibility for Unemployment Relief.
   Industrial Contact Departments. Affidavits and Bonding. Restitution and Prosecution Proceedings. Local Review Boards.
2. Determining Needs.
   The Budgetary Deficiency.
3. Extending Relief as Nearly Adequate as Available Funds Will Permit.
   Direct and Work Relief. Appraisal.
4. Facilitating Reduction of the Relief Load in Every Practicable and Humane Way.
   Automatic Reinstatement. Employment Registration of Relief Recipients. Cooperation with Works Program. The Problem of Unemployables.
5. Maintaining and Developing a Competent Administrative Staff, Selected on a Merit Basis.
   Competency and Compensation. Size. Training on the Job.
6. Establishing Procedures Which, While Avoiding Needless Red Tape, Will Insure Businesslike Administration.
   Responsibility. Methods and Systems.
7. Maintaining a Frank, Two-Way Relationship With the Public, Both Tax-Paying and Unemployed.
   Local Emergency Relief Boards. Unemployed and Labor Groups.

III. STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF RELIEF IN 1935

Expenditures ..... 33

Direct Relief.

Case Load ..... 34

Turnover in Relief Population ..... 35

Applications. Cases Opened. Cases Closed.

CHAPTER PAGE

Pennsylvanians on Relief ..... 36

How Many Have Received Relief?
Estimated Total—1935. Estimated Total Since 1932.
County Distribution
Urban and Rural Distribution
Occupations of Employable Relief Recipients
The Unemployables
Distribution. Case Size. Reasons for Unemployability. Eligibility for Other Aid.

Work Division Activities ..... 43
Man Hours and Costs. Projects.

Special Programs ..... 46
Homeless and Transients. Emergency Education. College Student Aid.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Long-Range Problem ..... 49

Insurance. Relief. Public Works.

The Immediate Problem ..... 50

Financing. Cash Relief. Care of Transients. Administrative Personnel.

# APPENDICES

A. Statistical Tables ..... 53

B. Laws Creating and Directly Affecting the State Emergency Relief Board ..... 64

C. Members of the State Emergency Relief Board ..... 66

# CHARTS

1—Average Weekly Direct Relief Grant Per Case and Per Person, by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 22

2—Chronology of Direct Relief Expansion in Pennsylvania, by Type: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 24

3—Pennsylvania Emergency Relief Administrative Areas, December, 1935 ..... 30

4—Average Number of Persons Receiving Direct and Work Relief, by Months: September, 1932—November, 1935 ..... 32

Expenditures for Direct and Work Relief, by Months: September, 1932—November, 1935 32

5—Pennsylvanians on Relief: May, 1933, and September, 1935 ..... 37

6—Proportions of County Populations Receiving Relief: Average, January-October, 1935 ... 38

7—Occupational Distribution of Workers in Pennsylvania's Relief Population: March, 1935 .. 41

8—Man Hours on Work Relief Program, Per Cent Distribution, by Type of Project: October 1, 1934—July 1, 1935 ..... 44

# TABLES

1—Average Weekly Direct Relief Grant Per Case and Per Person, by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 23

2—Volume of Direct Relief, by Type; January—December, 1935 ..... 34

3—Average Weekly Number of Relief Applications Received, Cases Opened and Closed, Cases and Persons on Relief Rolls, and Per Cent of Population on Relief Rolls, by Months: January—December, 1935 ..... 35

4—Average Number of Persons Receiving Relief, by Counties: January—October, 1935 ..... 39

5—Number of Employable Workers on Relief Rolls Having Specified Usual Occupations, with Percentage Distribution: March, 1935 ..... 42

6—Number of Man Hours Worked and Wages Paid, by Type of Project; Revised Work Division Program: October, 1934—August, 1935 ..... 45

7—Number of Cases and Persons Aided under Homeless and Transient Program, with Relief Expenditures, by Months: January—December, 1935 ..... 46

8—Number of Teachers and Pupils Participating in Emergency Education Program, with Expenditures, by Months: January—December, 1935 ..... 47

9—Number of Persons Aided under College Student Aid Program, with Expenditures: January—June, 1935 ..... 48

# APPENDIX TABLES

I—Average Number of Direct and Work Relief Cases, Persons and Persons Per Case, by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 55

II—Average Number of Cases Receiving Direct and Work Relief, by Counties and by Months: September, 1934—December, 1935 ..... 56

III—Expenditures from State and Federal Funds for Direct Relief, Work Relief, Special Programs, and Administration, by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 58

IV—Expenditures from State and Federal Funds for Direct Relief, by Type and by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 59

V—Expenditures from State and Federal Funds for Work Relief, by Type and by Months: September, 1932—December, 1935 ..... 60

VI—Expenditures from State and Federal Funds for Special Programs, by Type and by Months: September, 1932—Decmeber, 1935 ..... 61

VII—Expenditures for Direct and Work Relief, by Counties, September, 1932, through December, 1935, with Amounts by Months, September, 1934, through December, 1935 62

# CHAPTER I

# PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."
—Santayana

Perhaps the most outstanding fact brought to light by a study of the history of relief in America is our continued unpreparedness to meet the problems arising from successive periods of mass unemployment. The economic dislocation which overtook the country in 1929, while the severest, was by no means the first crisis of its kind. Yet it found an industrial nation of 123 million people without national or even state machinery for providing the bare elements of security to citizens rendered destitute by the loss of jobs. Instead, the continued subsistence of a vast section of the population was suddenly made contingent upon private charity and a public relief system developed along lines suitable to a pioneer rural civilization.

This situation, which confronted America only five years ago, would seem recent enough to be familiar to every adult person today, but already there is evidence of a tendency to forget the desperate efforts of local, state, and finally federal forces to stem the tide of distress with inadequate means. Already there are some—usually those who have had little direct experience with insecurity—who seem willing to return to old ways and risk old mistakes. Recovery has always had an "anaesthetizing effect upon our memory," but before the process has gone too far, it may be well to reexamine the immediate past and to consider candidly the probable alternatives to profiting by its lessons.

What have been the outstanding characteristics of recent relief policies and what is the prospect for the future? To what extent have traditional theories hampered the effort to find an outgoing road in a wilderness of unparalleled destitution?

It is the purpose of this chapter to attempt to answer these questions by means of a condensed review of the major phases of relief activity from the period immediately preceding the depression down to the Fall of 1935. Only in the light of this factual record can the administration of Pennsylvania's third year of organized relief and the recommendations attached to this report be properly appraised.

## GOVERNMENT AND RELIEF BEFORE THE DEPRESSION

### Seventeenth Century Poor Relief in the Twentieth Century

How revolutionary recent changes in the field of public relief have been becomes evident when it is realized that prior to 1931 the basic form of governmental assistance in all sections of the country was the local poor relief system established by the early colonists. Its pattern had been laid down by Queen Elizabeth to deal with problems consequent to the breaking up of feudalism in England.[1] Before the depression, attempts at modernization had been made in a number of states, but in its essentials the system belonged to another age. Its main tenets, which still color the attitude of many people toward relief of the unemployed and toward assistance to that other group more recently receiving wide-spread attention, the "unemployables," may be summarized briefly. They are:

(1) Relief of destitution is a local responsibility. It should be administered by local, elected officials and financed from local (typically real estate) taxes.

(2) In order to prevent the indigent from migrating and to protect communities from having to support "outside paupers," the first consideration in granting aid should be: Does the applicant have a legal settlement in the particular town or county where he seeks relief?

(3) Poverty is something of a disgrace and is generally due to failure to make provision for a rainy day, chronic shiftlessness or unwillingness to work. Therefore, relief should be limited to the barest minimum, it should be made humiliating and difficult to obtain and the lot of a person receiving it should be so unenviable that pauperism will be effectively discouraged.

The tragic fallacy of these tenets did not become widely apparent until 1930-1931 when the

[1] 1601, 43rd Elizabeth, Cap. II. (Nicholls, Sir George, *History of English Poor Law*, Putnam, New York City, 1898, Vol. II, pp. 194-198.)

system collapsed completely under the burden of depression unemployment. In the 1920's public apathy was the rule. Poor law officers, with an often thankless task on their hands, were considered among the least important of local officials. As a result, scant attention was paid to their administrative qualifications. In many sections of the country a majority of the inhabitants were hardly aware that poor relief existed.

Only in the larger cities had the prevailing pattern undergone a marked change. Here the concentration of population and the inadequacy and frequent political manipulation of public aid had resulted in the growth of increasingly efficient private social agencies and in agitation for the transfer of home relief functions from public to private hands. A parallel movement was the tendency in some of the more forward-looking states to withdraw certain groups of dependents, notably widowed mothers with children, from the jurisdiction of the poor laws and to set up "categorical" forms of assistance financed, at least in part, by state funds and unattended by the stigma attached to the older type of local relief.

#### The Rise of Private Social Work

The establishment of private family welfare agencies, known at first as "charity organization societies," began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Philadelphia, New York and half a dozen other major cities these societies and their affiliates, financed largely by gifts from wealthy individuals, assumed the community's responsibility for relief and social service. For a time their success in dealing with individual problems of dependency in an increasingly scientific manner led to a conviction on the part of a few leaders that undifferentiated public relief might well be "on the way out." If categorical assistance could be assured to the injured, through workmen's compensation, and to the widowed and aged, through pensions, could not private funds provide for the remainder, thus eliminating the poor law official altogether?

Although we now know this belief was never justified by the facts, the stress on private effort was important in that it made possible much pioneering and experimenting in the field of welfare and relief work. Each decade saw the development of increasingly skillful personnel and of standards and methods which looked, not toward the mere alleviation of physical want, but toward recognition of the particular needs of the individual and toward his reestablishment in community life.

These developments, however, were inevitably on a laboratory scale. Many cities and hundreds of industrial towns and rural communities were unaffected by them. And nowhere was there adequate provision, either public or private, for meeting a new type of mass dependency which began to loom larger each year after 1920—that of the able-bodied unemployed. A few farseeing persons recognized its national implications but, by and large, the country over, America entered the year 1929 with probably less sense of collective responsibility for social insecurity than any nation in the industrial world.

## LOCAL INITIATIVE TESTED BY THE DEPRESSION

#### Initial Mistakes

Looking back over the period of 1930-1933 three major mistakes, rooted in traditional thinking and a failure to grasp the implications of the industrial crisis, may be singled out as characterizing America's approach to unemployment relief.

The first of these was the belief that organized benevolence, plus local poor relief, could offset the results of national economic breakdown.

The second was the later belief that these two resources, bolstered by state aid, could meet the problem.

The third was the still later belief that a few supplemental federal loans, transmitted by the states to a heterogeneous assortment of local agencies, could tide over the period of stress.

Unfortunately none of these beliefs represented any significant change in the time-honored concepts of individual and local responsibility. There can be no question but that they resulted in untold suffering and demoralization among the unemployed as various makeshift expedients were attempted by each community according to its means and lights.

#### Organized and Emergency Charity

In the Spring of 1930, five months after the stock market crash, America had somewhat more than three million gainful workers unemployed.[2]

[2] Based on the 1930 Federal Census figure of 3,187,647, which many authorities believe to have been an *understatement* of the actual extent of unemployment at that time.

It is significant that estimates of the number more than a year earlier run well over two millions. As the crisis deepened, the army of the idle increased to alarming proportions. Bread lines multiplied in the cities and needy families packed the offices of established social agencies to the doors. Organizations which had hitherto specialized in case work and family service found themselves compelled to reduce their programs to the rudiments of food and shelter; and even then budgets intended for a year were exceeded in the space of a few months.

From the beginning the nature of the emergency was misunderstood. It was recognized as being of disaster proportions, like a flood or hurricane, and mobilization of resources was undertaken accordingly. It would only be necessary to get through *this* winter and conditions would be better in the spring. Such convictions do not lead to sound planning.

As months passed with no let-up in the increasing volume of need, thousands of volunteers were drawn into the business of raising and administering relief funds. The second winter of depression found citizens' emergency committees organized in most cities. A few were fact-finding bodies. In Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York and Chicago they were emergency groups collecting large funds for distribution by existing or hastily thrown together organizations. The White House appointed a "President's Organization for Unemployment Relief" to coordinate and encourage local efforts. Slogans were coined—"Buy Now," "Share a Job," "Give a Job." A great insurance company issued a booklet calling attention to past "doldrums" and the "bogey fears" caused by the "interruption of boom times."[3]

Throughout this period local relief crisis followed crisis as funds ran out and relief stations and commissaries were forced to close down. Entire groups, such as the unmarried and transients, were left out of some programs. Relief standards generally included only a bare subsistence allowance of food, made available in packages, in grocery orders or as wages for made-work which in some instances amounted to little more than an enforced test of "worthiness." Morale was further reduced by the constant threat of evictions and in every city unemployed families were on the move, searching for new and inevitably more miserable quarters. Money for rent, clothing and even fuel was seldom available, because of the more pressing need for alleviating stark hunger.

**The Collapse of Local Poor Relief**

Meanwhile, an increasing proportion of the relief burden had been placed on the local poor relief system. Public welfare departments in cities where public outdoor relief had been all but discontinued for a half century received emergency appropriations. By 1931 it was estimated that two thirds of the vastly augmented relief funds in a group of eighty-one cities were being drawn from local taxes. Budgets of county and town poor officials reached unheard of proportions.

Nevertheless, it was soon apparent that traditional poor relief was doomed to collapse both administratively and financially. It was not designed for a mass relief job. Even had money been available to pour into the system, its basic limitations made it a hopelessly inadequate bulwark against economic storm and stress. And the money was not available.

A first and insurmountable handicap was a tax base, never wider than a county and frequently, in sections of Pennsylvania and numerous other states, no wider than a particular township or borough. In the most distressed regions, where needs were greatest, local tax resources were apt to be meager. Real estate, already bearing a heavy burden of regular governmental costs and handicapped by wide-spread rent delinquencies, could not take on the additional load of swollen relief rolls. In most communities tax collections fell off disastrously.

A second handicap was inherent in the nature of the local poor laws and their application. Designed to deal with "paupers" in a day when, on the whole, any man in America who wanted a job could find one, they led to parsimonious and inefficient methods of relief-giving which in the end made the pauperizing of recipients almost inevitable. Being part and parcel of the local political structure laid poor relief open to manipulation for political ends, either through rank favoritism or through "penny-pinching" in the face of desperate needs. Officials could not help but be conscious of the pressure of constituents to keep taxes

[3] *The Development of Prosperity in America*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City, 1931.

down. Almost universally they lacked necessary qualifications for administering large scale relief and seldom were able or expected to devote full time to the job. Finally the feudal settlement laws, differing from state to state, and the multiplicity of poor districts eager to shift responsibilities where possible and to "pass on" impoverished families who could not prove legal residence, worked endless hardships.

Plainly, by the winter of 1931-1932, local responsibility was nearing the end of its rope.

#### State Aid to the Rescue

The demand for state participation in unemployment relief had been growing more and more clamorous after the second year of pyramiding needs. Its inevitability was first recognized in New York State early in 1931 and, as months passed, other states followed suit with a variety of measures.[4] It is significant that all of the state relief acts sought to stress the temporary nature of the aid given. Some of them, notably Pennsylvania's initial bill,[5] resorted to the device of invoking "the police power for the protection of the public health, safety, morals and welfare." In no case was there evidence of applying the principle, already widely accepted in such fields as care of dependent children and provision for the insane, of permanently relieving the localities of a responsibility which could be met more adequately, humanely and uniformly by state measures.

In many instances, the new funds, either borrowed or raised by emergency taxation, were allowed to pass through the antiquated channels of poor relief or the labyrinth of private agencies and volunteer groups. As a result, public appropriations on which all eligible recipients should have had equal claim were doled out unevenly according to standards dictated by treasury balances and the varying social vision of local administrators rather than by human needs.

During this period many of the present state relief organizations had their origin in the efforts made to correct this condition by laying down basic rules to be followed by local bodies and providing for the centralized collection of statistics. At the same time new forms of meeting the unemployment crisis continued to make their appearance. Barter exchanges and various self-help associations were organized. Labor camps for homeless migrants were established. Highway and other public departments embarked on extensive work relief operations, some merely giving preference on regular jobs to the more needy unemployed while others substituted work for the "dole," with or without such features as the "work or starve" principle. Wage provisions varied from the payment of prevailing rates in cash to a mere pittance in the form of grocery orders.

Nowhere was a consistent public relief philosophy apparent. On the other hand, a momentous step had been taken. The recognition of public responsibility for the subsistence of citizens unable, through no fault of their own, to provide for their most primitive needs, had broken the bonds of pauper laws and charity. It was only a question of time until that recognition would bring about the still greater break with tradition entailed in direct federal action.

#### RFC Loans—An Intermediate Step

During the first three winters of the depression the federal government had pursued a consistent policy of *laissez-faire* toward concrete relief of unemployment. This is not to be wondered at in view of American traditions. Nor is it surprising that the first tentative grappling with the problem was limited to the making of federal loans to states without any attempt at national leadership or the establishment of national standards of performance.

The first bill to provide federal relief was introduced in Congress early in 1932. It was met, like the initial proposals for state aid, with numerous objections and with equally numerous assurances, based on preconceived belief rather than investigation, that it was unnecessary. Fears were expressed that the impulse to private giving would be destroyed; that local and state authorities would cease to do their part; that federal funds would be squandered and would demoralize the unemployed by spreading the doctrine that the government would support them permanently in idleness. Numerous supposed parallels were drawn to the "blighting doles" existing in Europe.

[4] It should be noted that in certain sections, particularly in the South and West, a number of states took no action until after federal relief funds became available and, in some instances, have never resorted to any substantial amount of state aid.

[5] The First Talbot Act, December 28, 1931, P. L. 1503.

All fears and objections, however, begged the realities of a situation in which American municipalities were moving rapidly toward bankruptcy, state resources were proving inadequate and a large minority of the nation's workers, together with their families, were condemned to live in the barren wastes of a haphazardly organized relief economy. Despite the defeat of the first effort and the continued opposition of many holding the highest positions in both government and business, a federal relief measure was finally appended to the Emergency Relief and Construction Act passed in July, 1932.

Under the provisions of this law the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which had embarked the previous January on a two-billion dollar program of emergency aid to agriculture, commerce and industry, was authorized to advance $1,800,000,000 for various public works and $300,000,000 for relief loans to states.

But by the Spring of 1933 the last of this fund, which had been disbursed sparingly on a month-to-month basis, was exhausted. Approximately four and one half million families, consisting of more than eighteen million people—or every seventh person in the nation's population—had become dependent on relief.[6] The aid being given was grossly inadequate. There were in excess of fifteen million persons unemployed.[7]

## FEDERAL RELIEF FOR AN EMERGENCY

### "No One Shall Starve"

It was in this atmosphere of impending crisis—with the pressure of want and insecurity leading well-informed persons to question whether our basic institutions could long survive the strain—that a proposition which had been assumed in theory since the beginning of the depression was implemented by the creation of a governmental arm new to American history.

In May, 1933, Congress established, as part of President Roosevelt's multiform recovery program, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. A change in popular temper and a political landslide had been necessary to give national significance to the slogan: "No one shall be permitted to starve."

The Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 appropriated $500,000,000 for outright relief grants and provided through the FERA for far-reaching "cooperation by the federal government with the several states and territories and the District of Columbia in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment."

### Initial Significance

A thoughtful commentator has pointed out that the "financing and control of unemployment relief by state and federal governments did not occur because it seemed in principle desirable. Government was catapulted into it by sudden necessity."[8] In this light two features of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 deserve special emphasis.

(1) It envisaged partnership between state and national authorities in solving relief problems and provided the Federal Relief Administration with broad powers in case states should prove recalcitrant.

(2) It created the FERA for a two-year period only (this term was later extended for an additional period not to exceed one year) and allotted initial funds which could hardly have been expected to last a fourth of that time.

Thus it was clear from the outset that, although the federal government had assumed unprecedented responsibility, federal resources were not to bear it alone nor for any longer than the duration of what was still conceived of as an emergency.

Nevertheless, an electrifying new concept had finally gained a place in American thinking. Under the poor laws the destitute received relief by virtue of being legally settled in a community. When state funds came into use persons were aided as residents of a state. Now the passage of federal relief legislation seemed to imply that at least one group of the needy—those whose suffering was plainly the result of a national breakdown—should be provided for as *residents of America*. There was also implicit, though not yet clearly formulated, recognition of the fact that many sections of the nation lacked both the leadership and the resources to make decent provision for the economically underprivileged Americans who lived in them.

[6] Bookman, C. M., *The Federal Relief Administration*, an address delivered before the National Conference of Social Work, May 20, 1934.

[7] Unemployment estimates for March, 1933: Committee on Economic Security, 15,071,000 persons; American Federation of Labor, 15,653,000 persons.

[8] Millspaugh, Dr. Arthur C., *Public Welfare Administration*, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 308.

Whatever might be the degree of state and local, as compared with federal, participation, from this time forward unemployment relief activities throughout the country were to be determined to an ever greater extent by federal initiative and policies.

**Problems of Partnership**

The problems which faced, and still face, federal and state relief agencies may be summed up in three fundamental questions: What form shall relief take? How shall it be administered? How shall it be paid for?

During the first formative months of the FERA vigorous steps were taken to answer these questions, at least temporarily, with all the speed compatible with the practical necessity of keeping some sort of relief in continuous operation. In the Summer of 1933 standards looking toward reasonably adequate direct relief and the elimination of the worst features of much existing work relief were formulated. These standards depended, however, upon securing sufficient money to put them into effect. For this reason the question of reaching agreements with states on the division of the burden became of immediate and critical importance.

Most states were reluctant to raise relief standards if it meant larger state and local contributions. Merely to finance normal governmental functions was proving difficult and

> "in many states, when the governor desired to conform wholly with the spirit of the partnership, he was unable to force a reluctant legislature to act....
>
> "The Federal Relief Administration had two methods by which it could bring pressure to bear upon the states .... [It] might refuse federal money or it could take over the administration of a state's relief program.
>
> "Both methods were fraught with danger. In the first instance the unemployed would suffer needless privations, while the state and the Federal Administrator were negotiating, and while the legislative and executive branches of the state government were trying to find a way to raise funds through taxation without levying additional taxes.
>
> "If the second method were used, the chances were that the federal government would be called upon to finance an increasingly larger part of the load with a correspondingly decreasing local responsibility for either the prosecution of an adequate program or for its financing. The federal government did not have sufficient money to undertake the second method on a national scale even if it had been desirable to do so.
>
> "Since the inauguration of the Federal Relief Administration the merry game has gone on between the states and the Federal Administrator with varying fortunes of war, and with the unemployed the unhappy victims of the conflict."[9]

From the first, the Federal Relief Administration was notably more successful in promoting sound methods of intra-state administration than it was in compelling the fullest possible financial participation by states.

To make federal resources effective locally, it was imperative to have reasonably uniform statewide organizations with which the FERA could deal. Nearly every state had its "Temporary Unemployment Commission" or "Emergency Relief Board," but frequently this agency was weakly staffed and still relied to a greater or less degree on a loose collaboration with welfare departments, citizens committees and private social agencies in the dispensing of public funds. Such organizations had performed heroic service under trying conditions, but their return to normal functioning in the community was long overdue.

Accordingly one of the earliest and most important rulings of the Federal Relief Administration was that henceforth federal relief must be dispensed only by public agencies which are accountable, in the last analysis, to the electorate as a whole. In Pennsylvania, as in other states, this order made necessary revolutionary realignments between public and private organizations wherever the latter had been handling case investigations and administrative detail. An immediate secondary result was to draw much of the experienced and enlarged personnel of private agencies into the public service, thereby greatly strengthening the continuing or newly organized public agencies for the exacting and overwhelming tasks which confronted them.

By the Fall of 1933 relief practices had been reasonably standardized within the limits of current methods of financing, and a national attack on mass distress was launched on numerous fronts with few precedents and an increasing variety of weapons.

## THE MARCH OF THE PROGRAMS

The kaleidoscopic relief programs which have been undertaken during the past two and a half years have been of two main types: those initiated solely by the federal government and prosecuted

[9] Bookman, C. M., *op. cit.*

through the use of earmarked federal funds and those (such as general direct and work relief) which have been joint undertakings, decentrally controlled but reflecting FERA regulations to a greater or less degree.

In considering these programs, it is important to remember that they were designed, not as permanent parts of a public welfare organization, but as emergency machinery. Some of them have been frankly experimental; others have been gap-filling measures intended to function for a limited time only; and still others have sought to combine relief with other recovery objectives. Even in the short perspective from which they may now be viewed, however, it is apparent that their eventual significance may be greater than that of economic pump-priming or the mere tiding-over of the unemployed. It is no longer considered unduly pessimistic or radical to view our continuing problems of unemployment and under-employment as symptomatic of basic faults in the economic structure. If this be true, then the task of alleviating want pending the correction of these faults has hardly more than begun and fundamentally

> "the functions and organizations dealing with dependency in its recent and larger aspects are *not to be regarded as transitory but rather as transitional.*"[10]

The following thumb-nail descriptions review some of these transitional measures as they have appeared on the relief stage in Pennsylvania and in the other 47 states during the years 1933, 1934 and 1935.

**Civilian Conservation Corps**

One of the earliest and seemingly one of the most permanent of the federal relief programs, the CCC was established by the Emergency Conservation Act of March 31, 1933, to give employment in public parks and forests to some 250,000 unemployed young men. Enrollment, on a state quota basis, has been limited to those between 18 and 25 years of age and a small number of World War veterans.[11] Applicants must be unmarried and have dependents to whom they are willing to allot a substantial part of their pay. The great majority of those chosen have come from relief families. While in camp they receive $30 a month, clothing, food, housing and medical care in addition to the benefits of an educational program. Enrollment extends for six months, with an additional enrollment optional.

With the inclusion of the CCC in the 1935 Federal Works Program, the Corps was enlarged to provide about one seventh, or 500,000 of the 3,500,000 jobs created. As a family relief program the CCC has been a comparatively minor measure and the relief afforded has fallen far short of adequacy. It has given rise to real values, however, in the conservation and improvement of national resources.

**Transients**

The Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 authorized special allotments for the care of destitute transients—a group whose treatment, prior to the FERA, represented one of the darkest spots in American relief history. During the early years of the depression traditional methods held sway. Transients were fed at municipal soup kitchens, herded into mass public shelters and charity missions, or accommodated overnight in rural jails and almshouses and told to move on. The thousands of wanderers who took to the highways after 1929 numbered few "hoboes." Mostly they were unemployed single men and heads of families, frequently accompanied by dependents. But ancient prejudices and poor laws, coupled with the urgent necessity of conserving local funds for the local needy, led inevitably to a policy of avoiding responsibility not only for actual migrants but also for resident unemployed whose stay of months or even years in a community might still fail to meet the legal requirements for "settlement."

Early in the Fall of 1933 the Federal Relief Administration established transient relief departments to provide regional registration and treatment centers in all states. The program envisaged two types of care—temporary city shelters and work camps for rehabilitation. Federal funds met the cost of caring for federal, or inter-state, transients and state or state-and-local funds provided for those who had lived within a given state for one year. All administrative costs were paid with federal grants and emphasis was laid on rehabilitation and individualized assistance.

Thus, as a special branch of relief administration, the federal transient service continued to

[10] Millspaugh, Dr. Arthur C., *op. cit.*, p. 306, (italics added).

[11] During 1935 the age limits for CCC employment were extended to admit persons from 17 to 28 years of age, inclusive.

expand in scope and effectiveness until the Summer of 1935 and gave promise of affording a permanent solution to the anarchy of outmoded settlement statutes. Unfortunately, however, its organization afforded no basis for permanence. Moreover the existence of what appeared to be preferential treatment for transient, as compared with resident, relief recipients led to much criticism and undoubtedly was one of the factors in the decision to bring the program to an untimely end. In September, 1935, an FERA order, heralding the cutting off of further federal aid, caused the closing of transient intake offices, and liquidation of the service followed rapidly.

It is to be hoped that some means will be found of reversing this national backward step, for there is no evidence to indicate that harsh treatment and strictly interpreted local laws can ever deter considerable numbers of the unemployed from traveling beyond the borders of their communities or states in the hope of finding opportunities denied at home.

#### Work Relief—First Phase

The launching of the FERA greatly strengthened the policy, already established in many states, of substituting work relief as far as possible for the much maligned "dole." Existing programs, however, were often open to serious question as to both their usefulness and the morale-building which they professed to foster. Many were simply a device for compelling relief recipients to make some show of labor (usually manual) in return for an inadequate relief order. Little progress had been made toward suiting the jobs to the skills of the workers or toward placing work relief on that compensation-for-value-received basis which alone can be expected to preserve self-respect.

By the end of October, 1933, approximately two million persons had been given work relief employment. For the first time, also, cash wage payments and hourly minimums had gained nation-wide acceptance, in principle, if not always in fact.

#### Public Works Administration

The Public Works Administration (PWA) was created by the National Recovery Act in June, 1933. The tortoise among federal programs, it has played a role secondary to work relief in the provision of jobs for the unemployed but has nevertheless sponsored a variety of major undertakings which promise to be public investments of sound and continuing worth.

The PWA plan, involving mostly heavy construction work let out on a contract basis, necessarily got under way slowly in 1933 and caused considerable disappointment among those who looked to public works as a quick solution for economic stagnation. The projects, obtaining labor in the open market, have been of two main types: (1) *federal*—such as post offices, river and harbor work, naval construction, and land reclamation—financed by allotments to federal departments; and (2) *non-federal*—such as roads and streets, waterworks, school buildings and slum clearance—financed by allotments to states and municipalities, 70 per cent or more being in the form of a loan and up to 30 per cent being in the form of an outright grant. Loans of the type made by the RFC have also been extended to private corporations, chiefly railroads.

With approximately $2,200,000,000 allotted for construction loans and grants, the Public Works Administration reached its employment peak during the summer of 1934 when somewhat more than 600,000 workers were engaged at the sites of PWA projects. Meanwhile, approximately $1,100,000,000 of its original appropriation of $3,300,000,000 had been transferred to other relief and recovery agencies, including $400,000,000 to the Civil Works Administration (see below) and $321,000,000 to the CCC.

Although it is plain that the Public Works program, thus far, has fallen far short of "taking up the employment slack" which some proponents, perhaps unjustifiably, predicted it would do, this fact does not detract from such substantial features of PWA as its emphasis on careful planning, its work efficiency, and the ultimate value of its projects.

#### Civil Works Administration

In November, 1933, the Civil Works Administration program rocketed above the relief horizon. Its unexpected announcement at the onset of the fifth black winter of the depression and the dramatic swiftness with which it placed 4,000,000 persons at work furnished a sorely needed national hypodermic. At the outset it was widely hailed as

a point of new departure in federal policy. Here, for the first time, was "relief from relief"—a recovery program of real work at real wages. To many social-minded observers, it brought visions of a dispensation in which every American worker who wanted a job should have one—if not in industry, then on a government project.

Reared, in part, on the administrative framework of the FERA and the state relief administrations, CWA was set up to provide quick useful projects which would employ 2,000,000 wage earners from the relief rolls and 2,000,000 from among the unemployed without reference to need. It was launched as a short-term program which would stimulate industry and see the nation through the winter until PWA and private employment could turn the tide of relief. Despite frequent reiteration of these objectives, a large section of the public persisted in regarding CWA solely as a relief measure and criticised its failure to confine employment to the destitute, while another large section was firm in the belief that somehow Congress and the President would find the means of expanding and continuing the program as long as it was needed. When this belief was not realized, bitter disappointment followed, not only among CWA workers who, in the space of a few weeks, found and lost the first sense of security some of them had known in years, but also among the millions of unemployed who were never called to a job.

The organization of the CWA program set an all-time record for speed and the elimination of "red tape." More than 850,000 workers participated in the first nation-wide payroll and two months later, in mid-January, 1934, the quota of 4,000,000 had been passed. Curtailment set in almost at once, however, as it became apparent that the original PWA allotment and additional allocations from the FERA would be used up in the space of a few weeks. In February Congress appropriated further funds to permit an orderly liquidation, but by the end of March the last project had been shut down in preparation for a new program of work closely integrated with direct relief.

Owing to its complex nature it is difficult to evaluate CWA. Its most serious faults were traceable to a hasty inception which left no time for essential planning. Viewed as a recovery device, its life was not sufficiently long to prove anything conclusively, and as a relief method it was undeniably expensive and cumbersome. Nevertheless, and despite the questionable value of some of the projects, CWA performed much useful work and stands out as the only federal program, thus far, to give reasonably adequate wages to large numbers of the unemployed, including those not yet reduced to the bottom level of want.

#### Federal-State Work Divisions

The work relief activities which replaced the CWA program in April, 1934, were carried on by special Work Divisions set up as parts of the federal, state and local relief administrations. The Emergency Work Program, as it was called, was shaped by federal regulations and entailed, like CWA, small-scale public projects sponsored by state and local governmental agencies whose contributions were limited to the provision of equipment and materials. It differed from CWA in that

(1) Workers were no longer federal employes, since costs were met by state and local funds as well as by outright FERA grants to states.

(2) Assignments, with the exception of supervisory personnel, were on the basis of *relief eligibility*.

(3) Wages, while in cash, were adjusted to the "going" rates of the community, which often were sub-marginal (particularly in the South) and the hours worked were determined by *budgetary needs* as calculated by the relief administrations.

During the fifteen months of the Emergency Work Program's existence a few states carried practically their entire relief case loads on work projects. In others—where the problem was too large and combined state and federal funds were too limited to sustain sufficient useful projects—principal reliance was placed on direct relief, with work relief playing a secondary role because of its higher per capita cost.

The number of relief cases on Work Division rolls increased each month after April, 1934, until in January, 1935, nearly 2,500,000 out of a total of approximately 5,500,000 relief cases were receiving work relief wages.

#### The "Three-Point Plan"

Coincidental with the final abandonment of Civil Works in the Spring of 1934, a division of the unemployment relief problem into three parts was

announced by the Federal Relief Administration. Sometimes called the "three-point plan," it contemplated three general fields for relief activity, namely:

(1) Relief in rural areas where the principal need was for rehabilitation and assistance toward self-support.
(2) Relief in depressed or stranded rural-industrial areas where a program of retiring submarginal land and eventually removing stranded populations seemed to be indicated.
(3) Relief in urban-industrial areas where concentrated needs called for mass relief operations until workers should be reemployed in industry.

During the past year and a half these distinctions have been somewhat obscured by shifting emphasis and further changes in federal policies. However, they represent the first attempt to establish a more scientific basis for handling relief and they have already resulted in measures which, although still in the experimental stage, may eventually lead to significant new activities of government.

#### Rural Rehabilitation

As new agencies to function in the first two fields covered by the three-point plan, a Subsistence Homesteads Division was created in the Department of the Interior and a Rural Rehabilitation Division was established in the Federal Relief Administration.

The stated objective of Rural Rehabilitation was "to make it possible for worthy destitute farm families now eligible for relief to become self-supporting on a plane consistent with American standards and insofar as possible on their own farms." In September, 1934, the plan was extended to include relief for families in villages and industrially stranded communities who could be "returned to the land." At that time only 8,000 families were on Rural Rehabilitation rolls and in most states the work being undertaken was still largely exploratory.

A distinguishing feature of Rural Rehabilitation and of its successor, the Resettlement Administration, which has also absorbed subsistence homestead activities, has been the policy of aiding clients as far as possible through loans rather than direct relief. In addition to being supplied with necessary capital, such as stock, seeds, buildings and implements, the families selected for rehabilitation have been aided through supplementary employment on rural work projects, debt conciliation service, procurement of credit and relocation on better land. Up to the present time the program has been developed most extensively in the South where assistance has been extended to distressed tenant farmers and share croppers, but it has yet to eliminate the need for large-scale and continuing rural relief.

#### Federal Surplus Relief Corporation

Incorporated in October, 1933, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC) was designed to "help solve the paradox of hunger and destitution existing in a country with huge agricultural surpluses."[12]

The method adopted involved the wholesale distribution of surplus commodities to relief families as an allowance over and above regular grants of direct or work relief. The products, rendered "surplus" by lack of consumer purchasing power, were either purchased by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration as part of its price-raising program or were acquired directly by the FSRC and the various state relief administrations, using special federal grants.

Surplus relief commodities during the past two years have included, at one time or another, large quantities of cotton, wheat, hogs, cattle and hides. A by-product of the program has been the development of work relief projects by which the unemployed process goods for use by the unemployed. In the nature of trial balloons in American economic life, most of these projects have met with strong opposition from private business groups and in many instances have been curtailed or abandoned.

The first "production-for-use project" in Pennsylvania—a mattress factory, utilizing surplus cotton—was introduced early in 1934. Several states, notably Ohio, have carried the plan further, opening numerous plants and manufacturing clothing, furniture and household goods on a work relief basis. Advocates of production-for-use plans emphasize the fact that the customers—*i. e.*, relief families—are outside the commercial market, since they are without independent buying power, and the goods they receive are those which, because of limited relief funds, have never been supplied as part of the relief budget. It is true that the

[12] *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, July 1 to July 31, 1935*, p. 17.

mass distribution of surplus commodities, particularly food, has been a factor in making relief more nearly adequate. A decided paradox exists, however, in the situation whereby federal and state relief authorities, while universally advocating either the cash or order systems of relief as preferable to relief in kind, have found themselves embarked on the largest program of relief in kind ever attempted in America.

Recently the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation underwent a reorganization and change of name (Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation). It is probable, therefore, that some changes may occur in its functions, with possibly more emphasis given to agricultural and less to unemployment relief.

#### Aid to Self-Help Associations

In addition to providing opportunities for the unemployed to produce consumption goods through work relief, the federal government has given financial aid to a number of barter and self-help associations. These organizations, which enable their members to exchange goods and services directly without the use of money, sprang up in many parts of the country during the early years of the depression and reached a peak in point of numbers and membership during 1934.

With a view to encouraging self-help as a substitute for relief, the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 specifically provided for grants to *bona fide* cooperative groups approved by the FERA. In the first year assistance was given to twenty-eight organizations with a reported membership of more than 60,000 persons. The movement has tended recently to decline in importance, however, and except in a few scattered communities, has not made any appreciable impression on the problem of unemployment relief.

#### Educational Relief

As side developments in the field of work relief, the FERA initiated the Emergency Education and College Student Aid programs during the winter of 1933-1934.

Established in October, just before the CWA, the Emergency Education program was designed primarily to give relief employment to needy teachers who had been dropped from regular teaching positions following the almost universal contraction of school budgets. At the period of greatest activity in March, 1935, this program employed somewhat more than 44,000 persons and benefitted an estimated total of 1,724,000.

While better results might have been obtained by dropping the "needs" test and engaging teachers entirely on a basis of competence, Emergency Education (now going forward under the Works Progress Administration) has provided hitherto unknown educational and recreational opportunities to thousands of adults and young persons faced with a trying and enforced leisure.

The federal College Student Aid program was launched in February, 1934. Its purpose was to provide campus work projects for the benefit of college students whose financial status was such that they could not otherwise have remained in school. Administered as a special program by the state relief administrations, College Student Aid marked the first use of federal funds to assist students to continue their studies rather than enter a labor market already glutted by millions of unemployed. Individual earnings on the projects averaged only $13 per month and could not, therefore, be considered more than supplementary to the cost of education. The program aided approximately 104,000 college students at its peak in March, 1935, and has since become one of the more important activities of the new National Youth Administration.

#### Federal Works Program, 1935-1936

In April, 1935, Congress passed its fourth major emergency relief act appropriating, at the President's request, the unprecedented sum of $4,880,000,000 "to provide relief, work relief, and to increase employment by providing for useful projects." The purpose underlying the new legislation was, in brief, to taper off all federal grants for direct relief and to turn back to states and local communities the full responsibility for an estimated 1,500,000 relief cases in which there were no employable members. For the estimated remainder of approximately 3,500,000 cases, each including one or more employable persons, the federal government would undertake to provide work through a huge and differently conceived work relief program.

Summing up the philosophy on which this new attack on the unemployment relief problem was to

be based, the President's message to Congress on January 4, 1935, included this significant passage concerning the estimated 3,500,000 "employable" relief cases:

> "With them the problem is different and the responsibility is different. This group was the victim of a nation-wide depression caused by conditions which were not local but national. *The Federal Government is the only govermental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation.* We have assumed this task and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States *to give employment to all of these three and a half million employable people now on relief, pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment.*" (Italics added).

It is not possible, in brief space, to describe adequately the complex organization and scope of the current Works Program but some of its outstanding features may be noted as:

(1) The enlistment of a large number of permanent federal departments, such as War, Navy, Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, and Interior, to sponsor certain types of projects.

(2) The establishment of the Works Progress Administration to coordinate all activities, collect statistics and insure the efficient prosecution of the program and the expeditious transfer of families from relief rolls to project payrolls. (It was originally intended that the WPA would arrange "light" projects to take up the slack wherever heavy public works failed to supply sufficiently extensive and varied employment, but in actual practice and in order to get the program under way it has been necessary for the WPA to assume the great bulk of the task.)

(3) The payment, on Works Program projects, of a "security" wage ranging, in various parts of the country and according to the skills of the workers, from $19 to $94 per month. (This substitution of a fixed security wage for the budgeted wage paid on previous work relief programs has been the subject of continual controversy since inauguration of the Works Program. Its object was to provide a higher average income than the average adjusted work relief wage or relief grant formerly received by relief families, but at the same time to furnish an incentive for project workers to seek private employment since project wages would be kept below prevailing rates in industry.)

(4) The inclusion in the Works Program of the new Resettlement Administration, the Public Works Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, the last accounting for approximately 500,000 of the "employables" placed at work. (Since CCC workers receive, not a security wage, but only $30 per month, their inclusion in the quota has meant a substantial reduction in the number of security wage jobs created. In contrast to this situation, PWA workers are still hired full-time at union wages in the open market.)

First placements of relief workers under the current Works Program began in July, 1935, and by December 1 announcement was made that the employment goal had been substantially attained. On the same date all FERA grants to state relief administrations ceased and the first phase of the partnership between federal, state and local governments "for an emergency" came to an end.

It is too soon to attempt a final appraisal of the division of relief responsibility entailed in the Works Program. However, certain facts, already apparent, lend weight to the belief that it must be regarded, like its predecessors, as a transitional measure subject to further modification and change.

Although the concept of federal responsibility for the able-bodied unemployed, first implied in the Emergency Relief Act of 1933, was clearly set forth in the President's message to Congress on January 4, 1935, the actual quota of federal jobs for this group has proven too low to provide security work for more than an estimated half of the employable persons in relief families. In many sections of the nation there are still thousands of households with potential workers who have no resource but the direct relief which local and state governments can furnish. Moreover, the problem of financing this residual relief burden has been made more serious in a number of industrial states, including, notably, Pennsylvania and Illinois, by the abrupt cessation of federal grants on December 1 at a time when state Works Program quotas were far from filled, despite the fact that the goal for the nation as a whole was deemed to be nearly reached.

This failure of the federal government to continue its partnership arrangement with individual states until after the transfer of their full quotas to federal projects opened the way for perhaps the most serious criticism which has yet been advanced with respect to the Works Program plan.

Further criticisms, raising questions which must be answered by federal, state and local governments during the coming year, revolve around the present and possible future scope of the Works Program in relation to America's estimated 11,500,000 unemployed; the inflexibility of the secur-

ity wage, resulting in hardship for large families whose former relief grant, based on minimum needs, was larger than their present income; the possible depressing effect of the security wage on wage rates in private industry; the problem of definitely employable workers for whom no suitable project can be provided in the locality where they live; and, finally, the establishment of a frozen group of work relief employes, who, since the Works Program does not include provision for reinvestigation of the relief cases for which it has assumed responsibility, will continue to draw pay regardless of whether other members of their families find private employment, or whether needs continue as before.

Questions such as these do not involve any doubt as to the tremendous advantage of *real* work and wages over idleness and direct relief. They merely illustrate some of the difficulties inherent in any large-scale effort to combine relief and public works without sacrificing the effectiveness of either.

# CHAPTER II

# THE THIRD YEAR OF ORGANIZED RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA

"Judge nothing . . . by the point at which it has arrived.
Judge all things by the direction in which they are moving."
—L. P. Jacks

With few exceptions, the conditions and relief measures described in foregoing pages have been the experience of Pennsylvania as well as of the United States. The State's two great metropolitan areas, its vast bituminous and anthracite coal fields—which have suffered economic dislocation not for a few years but for more than a decade—its extensive farm lands and numerous industrial communities, all these have given rise to problems as complicated and as serious as can be found anywhere in the nation.

Pennsylvania still retains a poor relief system patterned after that given to Penn's colony by its first assembly. It entered the depression as unprepared as the rest of America and, in common with other sections, went through the same period of desperate, abortive local measures, charity drives, breadlines, commissaries, and starvation doles; the same era of uneven and inadequately planned state responsibility; and, finally, through painstaking, trial-and-error methods, reached, for the first time in its history, a stage where a coordinated state-wide organization could insure needy unemployed persons in any county or town equitable, impartial treatment and whatever assistance was possible within the limits of available state and federal funds.

Pennsylvania's present State Emergency Relief Board was established by act of the legislature in August, 1932. Two previous annual reports have dealt with the experience and accomplishments of the first and second years of the State Emergency Relief Administration, of which the Board is the controlling authority.[1] This section of the third report will deal primarily with the third year and more particularly with developments since January, 1935, the date of publication of the last report.

In order, however, to make clear the background, the foundations and basic strengths and limitations of Pennsylvania's unemployment relief structure, the reader is provided with the following brief summary of relief measures during the period 1930-1934.

## UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF MEASURES IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1930-1934

### Poor Relief and Private Efforts[2]

When the nation-wide depression spread over Pennsylvania in 1930, the only public provision for unemployment relief was an assortment of 425 poor districts, governed by more than nine hundred local officials and ranging in population from 73 to 1,541,615 persons. Only 50 of these districts followed county lines. The remainder, located in some of the most distressed areas of the State, were largely coextensive with townships and boroughs. Even in prosperous years this archaic system, taken as a whole, had lacked both the administrative and the financial resources to provide adequately for those chronically in need. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh all public outdoor relief had been allowed to atrophy and private social agencies had assumed responsibility for dependent families. In the rest of the State poor relief labored under obsolete and conflicting laws, strict settlement statutes, varying degrees of political control, generally insufficient appropriations and the stigma which has traditionally attached itself to local public aid of the poor.[3]

It was impossible for such a system to expand and change sufficiently to meet rapidly growing needs. At best, all that could be done was to

[1] *Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania, September 1, 1932—October 31, 1933,* and *Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania, September 1, 1932—August 31, 1934.*

[2] Measures to cope with unemployment in Pennsylvania before the establishment of the State Emergency Relief Board in August, 1932, are reviewed in detail in Chapter I of *Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania, September 1, 1932—October 31, 1933.*

[3] Exhaustive factual data concerning the background and present status of poor relief in Pennsylvania will be found in two recently published studies: *Poor Relief Administration in Pennsylvania,* State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, 1934, 300 pp., and *Seventeenth Century Poor Relief in the Twentieth Century,* by Ewan Clague, Joint Committee on Research of the Philadelphia Community Council and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, 1935, 48 pp.

spread inadequate relief more thinly over an ever increasing number of destitute families. It became necessary, therefore, for hundreds of private agencies and volunteer committees throughout the State to supplement the efforts of poor law officials on a major scale.

During this period some sporadic thought was given to the need for coordinating local public and private relief work. One of the most notable efforts in this direction was that of the King Committee, organized in October, 1930, by Gifford Pinchot, who had been recently elected Governor. Operating through sub-committees in most of the counties, the King Committee attempted to stimulate and coordinate local activities. Such efforts were of small avail, however, because of inadequate funds and the lack of any form of State supervision.

**First State Aid, December, 1931**

It was into the above described poor relief system that the legislature, through the First Talbot Act,[4] injected $10,000,000 of State funds in December, 1931. At that time approximately one fourth of Pennsylvania's wage earners were unemployed. The State retained no control over the funds allocated to local poor boards. Although the purpose of the act was unemployment relief, this was not specified in its wording and a considerable portion of the money went toward the care of chronic indigents rather than of the unemployed. Administration of the First Talbot Fund in most parts of the State was chaotic and lacking in any semblance of uniform standards and practices.

**Development of Unified Administration Under the SERB**

The creation of the State Emergency Relief Board by the Woodward Act [5] in August, 1932, marked the beginning of a state unemployment relief program in Pennsylvania.

The Board, consisting of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Auditor General, the State Treasurer and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, was charged with the duty of planning and adopting a comprehensive program for the expenditure of State and federal funds for unemployment relief. By September 1, 1932, a local Emergency Relief Board had been established in each county.

Due to the extreme seriousness of the situation existing throughout the State these local boards avoided any form of "red tape" and delegated the administration of relief in each county to whatever local public or private agencies seemed best able to relieve immediate distress. The State Board instructed local boards to "postpone until a later period time-consuming, minute investigations of applicants for help, and to see that the hungry are fed at the earliest possible moment."

The local boards were given wide latitude in the determination of relief standards and policies. No funds were granted at first for administration because of the deep-rooted impression that unemployment relief grants could be made through volunteer workers, and that the small amount needed for overhead could be provided locally. The administration of unemployment relief by the State Emergency Relief Board during the early months of its existence, therefore, differed but little from the previous localized administration.

With inadequate and inexperienced personnel, the investigation of needs was poorly done, and the case load increased rapidly throughout the State. Moreover, the extreme variations in relief standards which had previously existed continued, and there was no adequate safeguard for careful control of, nor accounting for, expenditures.

In the Spring of 1933, the first steps toward securing a unified state administration were taken. The substitution of FERA grants for RFC loans had made apparent the need for greater supervision and control in the expenditure of relief funds. Lack of local funds for administration had already necessitated expenditures for this purpose by the State Board and numerous staff members were being recruited on a paid basis. In August the administration of State and federal relief by poor boards and private agencies was discontined. Records and reports were placed on a uniform basis and a standard classification of accounts was adopted. Gradually the chaotic conditions in relief administration were replaced by a degree of orderliness.

It should be emphasized that unification in the administration of relief took place slowly, and the necessity of maintaining justifiable variations to meet local conditions was never lost sight of. It was, however, only through the development of uniform practices, and concurrently the establishment of a centralized State administration, that

[4] 1931, December 28, P. L. 1503.
[5] 1932, August 19, P. L. 88.

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relief rolls were reduced and relief standards raised to the point where they were at the end of 1934.

As the administration of relief was coordinated, it became possible to reduce the number of local administrative units. In the Fall of 1932, there were hundreds of local agencies granting relief under the auspices of the State Emergency Relief Board. By December, 1934, the number of local administrative units had been reduced to thirty-nine (twenty-six county units and thirteen area units comprising forty-one counties).[6]

During the process of unifying the relief administration the local boards tended to become advisory rather than administrative. The necessity for making State procedures and policies conform with the requirements of federal programs greatly reduced the area in which local policies could be determined. Although it had been hoped eventually to bring about some degree of decentralization the continuing emergency status of unemployment relief made this infeasible.

#### Improvement of Personnel Standards

Through a centralized state administration, divorced from politics, it was possible to recruit personnel on the basis of ability alone. In the Spring of 1934, a competitive examination was used in the selection of some 2,000 investigators and assistant supervisors. Since that date several Statewide examinations have been given as a basis for staff selection and promotion.

Efficiency in administration can be maintained only if the salaries paid are scaled in accordance with the responsibilities and requirements of the position held and related to the compensation prevailing in private and other governmental employment. In order to attain this objective a job analysis and personnel classification was made in the Summer of 1934 under the direction of a leading personnel management consultant.

Because of the limited number of experienced persons available for investigating relief needs, it was necessary to recruit many untrained workers. To enable these workers to become more efficient, a training program was started in the Summer of 1934. The training program was designed to develop personnel for supervisory positions and to enable investigators to obtain a better understanding of the problems of administration.

[6] See Chart 3, p. 30, for map of present administrative areas.

#### The Development of Relief Standards

The most significant development in the administration of unemployment relief prior to January 1, 1935, was the constant progress made toward more nearly adequate relief grants. In September, 1932, food only, and that in very limited amounts, was granted. Thereafter, additional types of relief, as well as increased allowances for each type, were added until at the end of 1934, food, milk, fuel, shoes, clothing, medical care, shelter and utilities were being provided.

In the early months of the State Emergency Relief Board weekly grants for food varied from $.25 to $1.80 per person. To correct this wide variation the State Relief Administration established a standard food schedule in October, 1933, to promote adequacy and uniformity in food relief. The new schedule was based upon (1) an attempt, with the assistance of dietitians and physicians, to work out adequate, balanced diets for adults and children; (2) the retail prices, in representative counties, of the foods specified; and (3) the determination of food relief grants for families of varied size and composition in accordance with dietary needs and costs.

Except for cash relief in Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties, all direct relief in Pennsylvania has been granted through relief orders or through the commissary method of direct distribution.

Early in 1933, the State Board announced its intention of establishing commissaries, euphemistically called "community markets," in all population centers of the State. At one time, community markets were maintained in seventeen of the sixty-seven counties. The experiment proved so unsatisfactory, however, that the markets were gradually abandoned, the last one, in York, being closed in November, 1934. Shoes and clothing were purchased centrally and distributed in kind by the State Relief Administration until December, 1934. At that time, the system of granting shoe and clothing orders for stated amounts redeemable at any retail store was adopted.

The first allotment of Federal Surplus Relief Corporation commodities was received in Pennsylvania during November, 1933. From the beginning these commodities were distributed on a commissary basis. While they played a part in raising relief standards, the same effects might well have been obtained at smaller cost by increasing the grants for various types of relief.

Another development which increased the adequacy of relief was the inauguration of a thrift garden program in March, 1933. Under this program vegetable seeds, plants, fertilizers, insecticides, garden equipment, and garden plots were provided for families receiving relief. In addition to yielding large quantities of fresh vegetables, the gardens provided a healthful and beneficial form of activity for the unemployed.

With some provision made for all the more essential items in the family budget, the budgetary deficiency basis for establishing direct relief eligibility and needs was authorized in December, 1934. This method, which had been instituted earlier in the Fall for determining work relief wages, consists of calculating family needs for each form of relief in accordance with standard State-wide schedules. Relief grants are then made on the basis of these budgeted needs after account has been taken of any income or resources within the family.

The budgetary deficiency method of granting relief becomes fully effective only when a single cash grant is made to cover the entire adjusted budget. The advantages of cash relief are apparent. It enables the family to do its own planning and managing, thereby protecting self-reliance; it makes relief administration less complex, since separate orders for each relief item are replaced by a single grant for all items; it enables the family to shop around and derive the greatest benefit from the relief allowed. Cash relief was initiated in Philadelphia County in November, 1934, and authorized for Allegheny County shortly thereafter.

#### Work Relief and the CWA Program

The State Emergency Relief Board encouraged the spread of work relief in the first months of its existence. Many counties developed made-work projects on which persons were required to work for the food orders they received. This early type of work relief, creating few social or economic values, failed to justify itself and was all but abandoned by the time the CWA program was started in November, 1933. However, one State-wide work program of this period deserves specific mention. Beginning in October, 1932, allocations from unemployment relief funds were made to the State Highway Department for the purpose of providing work on the highways for able-bodied relief recipients. Although employment was given only to those with demonstrated relief needs, the jobs were "real" and the wages were the same as those paid to non-relief workers.

The Civil Works Administration program in its national aspects has been discussed in Chapter I. In Pennsylvania, at the peak of the program in January, 1934, the CWA employed 319,387 workers with a weekly payroll of $4,417,000. As in most states, both the ascent to and the descent from this peak were precipitous.

Although the State CWA was organized separately from the Relief Administration, the State Relief Administrator and several others in key positions served both organizations and thereby effected an advantageous coordination of functions.

When Civil Works ended on March 31, 1934, State and local Work Divisions were organized as integral parts of the Relief Administration. Because of limited funds, the new "Emergency Work Relief" authorized by the FERA was restricted largely at first to the completion of projects started under the CWA program. As these projects ended, work relief in Pennsylvania was once more brought practically to a standstill while plans were completed for instituting a revised work program which would conform fully to federal regulations.

While Pennsylvania's initial Work Division program had recruited workers, excepting supervisory personnel, from among those eligible for relief, the amount of earnings was not limited to the relief needs of the worker's family. The revised Work Division program, however, limited the total earnings of each worker to the amount of his family's budgetary deficiency.

In connection with both Civil Works and work relief programs, the State Relief Administration cooperated in the development and the maintenance of a State-wide public employment service. Prior to the Summer of 1933, there were free public employment offices, operated by the State Department of Labor and Industry, in thirteen of the sixty-seven counties. In the Summer of 1933, employment offices were established in the remaining fifty-four counties of the State as part of a nation-wide system of employment offices then being initiated by the federal government. These state and federal services were utilized by the Pennsylvania Civil Works Administration and by the Relief Administration for making all placements on projects.

## PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD YEAR

As has been shown above, the most formidable organizational tasks of the State Emergency Relief Administration were undertaken prior to 1935. Standards were developed and, as far as possible, federal programs were adapted to conditions within the State. The principal objectives of the past year, therefore, have included the consolidation of gains, the elimination of the weaknesses which time and experience have made evident and the initiation of further improvements.

At the same time it has been necessary to remain realistically aware, on the one hand, of the necessity for rigid economy in the face of precarious financing and, on the other, of the needs of upwards of one and three quarter million Pennsylvanians dependent on relief for their continued subsistence. Further complicating the tasks of the third year have been the shifts in national relief policies.

### Financial Uncertainty

As in each previous year of its existence, uncertainty of financing was the outstanding obstacle with which the State Emergency Relief Administration had to contend in 1935. In no single month could the State Board or its Executive Director be sure of the amount of money which would be available or of its source.

Since Pennsylvania counties take no part in the direct financing of unemployment relief, State and federal funds have carried the burden. During the first eleven months of the year, prior to the discontinuance of federal aid, the Relief Administration prepared monthly estimates of needs and forwarded them to Washington. Usually, however, the announcement of federal grants for the ensuing month was not made until a few days before initial commitments became necessary. Moreover, the announcement was often limited to the amount which might be expected for the first half of the month, with a later announcement making known the second half-month allotment.

Under such circumstances, sound budgeting of local and State-wide expenditures, even on a hand-to-mouth basis, has been difficult, and planning ahead has been next to impossible. When cash relief was instituted in Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties, it was the intention of the Relief Administration to extend the practice to all parts of the State at the earliest possible date. Long advocated by federal relief authorities, universal cash relief would have been the biggest single forward step which Pennsylvania could have taken during the past year. That it has not been taken is entirely due to the fact that money must be actually in the bank before commitments can be made through checks. Commodity and service orders, on the other hand, are usually delayed in presentation and do not entail an expenditure of funds until several weeks after they are issued.

With special revenues coming into the State treasury slowly, the State government has been compelled to delay making funds available for relief purposes until payments of bills are due. On several occasions efforts have been made to establish the necessary reserve required for the cash relief system, but each time a threatened crisis has wiped out the last vestige of a balance.

Further results of financial uncertainty in 1935 were apparent during the summer when it became necessary to curtail drastically and finally to abandon the Relief Administration's work relief program, cutting adrift and reinstating on direct relief some 40,000 project workers.

These administrative difficulties, however, are as nothing when compared with the cruel fear and desperation which rumored and, on several occasions, well-founded threats of complete relief stoppage brought home to the thousands of men, women and children who are dependent on relief.

### The Elements of Sound Administration

To be sound, relief administration can seldom be spectacular. Reduced to its simplest elements, it must consist of determining the eligibility and needs of persons seeking relief and of meeting those needs as efficiently and as nearly adequately as the means within the control of the administration permit.

Further enlarged, these principles, as exemplified by the experience of the Pennsylvania Emergency Relief Administration in 1935, seem to fall under the following general heads, which will be used in discussing the year's activities:

1. Determining eligibility for unemployment relief.
2. Determining needs.
3. Extending relief as nearly adequate as available funds will permit.
4. Facilitating reduction of the relief load in every practicable and humane way.
5. Maintaining and developing a competent administrative staff, selected on a merit basis.

6. Establishing procedures which, while avoiding needless red tape, will insure businesslike administration.
7. Maintaining a frank, two-way relationship with the public, both tax-paying and unemployed.

## ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN 1935

### 1. Determining Eligibility for Unemployment Relief

Under the regulations of the Relief Administration a household, to be eligible for unemployment relief, must contain at least one person 16 years of age or over who is either working part time or is able and willing to work. Beyond this primary requirement, the original and continuing eligibility of each relief family is determined by the existence of a specified degree of actual need, technically known as the budgetary deficiency.

It has been the constant concern of the Relief Administration to make certain that no eligible person should be refused assistance and, at the same time, to do everything within its power to prevent the acceptance or the continuance on unemployment relief rolls of persons clearly not entitled to aid. Developments during the year which have centered around this objective have been varied. They include the perfecting of procedures for determining budgetary deficiency, improvement of investigating practices through careful instruction and training of investigators, establishment of industrial contact departments in local relief administrations, prosecution and restitution proceedings in cases of fraud, and appointment of local review committees to pass upon cases of refusal of employment. In addition, laws were passed by the 1935 session of the State legislature making mandatory the disclosure of bank deposits of relief recipients and requiring the signing of sworn financial statements by persons applying for or receiving relief.

#### Industrial Contact Departments

The system of industrial contact departments, initiated experimentally in 1934, became effective in a majority of the counties by April, 1935. Its purpose is to obtain the cooperation of large industrial firms in supplying regular information as to the employment and earnings of workers in their service. This information is recorded and checked currently against the relief rolls. In addition, the industrial contact departments check with employers the accuracy of statements made by relief recipients and applicants with respect to loss of employment or change in earnings. This service, in addition to safeguarding against the occasional instances in which relief families seek to conceal earnings, simplifies the investigators' task of determining changes in relief needs.[7]

Each department is an integral part of the local relief administration and consists of a contact agent and, where necessary, one or more assistants and clerical helpers. In June the responsibilities of the industrial contact departments were enlarged to include contacts with banks, mortgage companies and insurance firms in order to ascertain financial resources other than earnings whenever such inquiry was needed in the course of relief investigation.

Legislation requiring banks to reveal to authorized representatives of the State Relief Administration the amounts of deposits of relief applicants or recipients was enacted by the General Assembly in April (Act 24).

#### Affidavits and Bonding

Late in May the second act of the Assembly affecting relief eligibility was passed (Act 109). Its provisions include the requirement "that every person applying for direct or work relief" furnished by State funds and "every person now receiving such relief shall be required to sign a statement setting forth his or her financial status, and such other facts as may be required by the State Emergency Relief Board in order to determine whether such person is entitled to relief," and shall "make affidavit that the facts set forth in such statement are true and correct." The act also makes obligatory the signing of a bond "without surety, containing a warrant of attorney to confess judgment in the penal sum of five hundred dollars," the bond to be "conditioned on the truth of the statements made by the applicant in his or her written application." To facilitate the carrying out of these requirements authority was granted for State Emergency Relief Administration employes to witness the stipulated affidavits.

While efforts have been and will continue to be made to comply with the intent of this law, it is hoped that its unnecessarily harsh provisions and obvious kinship to the "pauper's oath" which characterized public poor relief in Pennsylvania

[7] On the average every family on the relief rolls is visited at intervals of from four to five weeks as a matter of *routine* procedure.

for two centuries will lead to reconsideration by the legislature and evential modification. No evidence adduced thus far has shown any appreciable amount of what is popularly termed "chiseling" on the part of persons currently receiving relief.[8] There is every reason to believe that careful and thorough investigation of resources, both at the time of application and periodically thereafter, is a much more effective guard against imposition, as well as a much more appropriate way of dealing with unemployed Americans, than any enforced oath. It is significant that the one-time authority of Pennsylvania justices of the peace to "swear paupers" on to township poor relief rolls was expressly repealed by the General Poor Relief Act of 1925.

#### Restitution and Prosecution Proceedings

In the light of the viewpoint expressed above, it must be emphasized that in all known cases of relief being fraudulently or illegally obtained prompt measures have been taken to bring about restitution either voluntarily or, if warranted by all the facts, through prosecution.

The number of such cases has been small, the total reported in the past year being only 4,545, or less than one tenth of one per cent of the number of different cases on relief rolls since these proceedings were initiated. A total of approximately $100,000 has been returned to the State under various restitution arrangements during 1935. There have been numerous instances of relief recipients making voluntary restitution of grants where jobs had been obtained or, to name but one other example, where delayed Old Age Assistance checks had been received subsequent to the last contact between the relief investigator and the family.

#### Local Review Boards

Since an assumed condition of unemployment relief is a willingness on the part of the employable members of relief households to accept work if it is obtainable, several moves were made during the year with a view to establishing a sound basis for dealing with cases of alleged refusal of employment.

The most important of these was the appointment, early in 1935, of local county review boards, the membership of each board consisting of one business man, one labor leader and one representative of the community at large. This volunteer group was authorized to pass upon the justification for job refusals brought to its attention or to the attention of the local relief administration. The policy of utilizing local citizens' committees as insurance against arbitrary and possibly unfair treatment of relief recipients had its inception under the initial Work Division program of 1934 in the settling of disputes over wages and conditions of work. The plan has been markedly successful in recent months and has been extended to cover refusals of Works Progress Administration, as well as of private, employment.

### 2. Determining Needs

#### The Budgetary Deficiency

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the budgetary deficiency basis for determining direct relief needs was authorized at the end of 1934. In the Second Annual Report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board, issued at that time, it was stated that

> "as soon as practicable after January 1, 1935, direct relief grants in kind on the 'budgetary deficiency' basis are to be instituted in all sections of the State which are not on a cash relief basis. [The system was already operative for cash and work relief.] It is proposed that orders for relief in kind will be issued regularly in a total amount equal to the 'budgetary deficiency' of the individual or family receiving unemployment relief. This

---

[8] On the contrary, a number of studies and investigations in 1935, undertaken by outside agencies as well as by the Relief Administration, showed unemployment relief rolls to be remarkably free of ineligibles. Examples:

(1) The Stark Report in March, 1935, made by a group of field research workers from the New York TERA who were invited to conduct an independent survey of Pennsylvania unemployment relief. The group found that only 2.3 per cent of 1,327 cases selected at random for study were ineligible.

(2) Report of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research in July, 1935, following a study of cases on the rolls of the Philadelphia County Relief Administration. This report showed that only 3.8 per cent of a representative sample of the city's unemployment relief case load lacked eligibility.

(3) A study in June, 1935, of alleged cases of "chiseling" concerning which complaints had been received by the State Relief Administration. A thorough investigation of each case revealed that 30 per cent of the cases were not receiving relief, that 89.6 per cent of the complaints were not justified, that 0.6 per cent were partially justified and that 9.8 per cent were justified. It should be noted that this 9.8 per cent is the proportion of what might be called "chiselers" in a group of relief cases all of which were the subject of written complaint.

step will mark a vast improvement over the present relief-in-kind system, under which orders for certain types of relief are issued separately without any relationship to orders for other types. It will also tend to make relief grants more nearly adequate to the basic needs of the persons dependent upon relief."

By January 15 the necessary forms and instructions relating to the new procedure had been distributed and one of the most accurate and impartial systems of computing heterogeneous relief needs yet devised became standard practice in all sixty-seven counties of Pennsylvania.

The method of computing the budgetary deficiency is to deduct from the sum representing the total needs of a household whatever income or other financial advantages (such as rent-free living quarters) it may have. Items taken into consideration in the calculation of needs may include any or all of the following: food, milk, clothing and shoes, heating fuel, cooking fuel, shelter and light. Standard State-wide schedules, scaled according to the number of adults in the household and the number and ages of children, are used in determining maximum amounts for each item and for all items combined.

Within these maximum limits the family, in consultation with the relief investigator, may work out its own budget and—after a "deficiency" of income or other resources has been established—choose the items desired in the relief grant. Only medical relief, which cannot be budgeted, is arranged for as required, the doctor of the family's choice being paid directly by the Relief Administration in accordance with standardized rates approved by State and local medical advisory committees.

As noted elsewhere, allotments of Federal Surplus Commodities do not enter into the calculation of the budget and are distributed in addition to regular grants. The same "exemption" applies to the yields of family thrift gardens.

The chief criticisms which may be advanced against budgetary deficiency relief have nothing to do with its theoretical operation. Rather they touch on such problems as the adequacy of the amounts and items of relief actually granted (discussed below) and the fact that the Relief Administration has not been able to relate budget schedules to shifting price levels nor to set budget *maximums* more than barely high enough to meet *minimum* needs.

## 3. Extending Relief as Nearly Adequate as Available Funds Will Permit

### Direct and Work Relief

Although much progress has been made in the direction of supplying the basic requirements of families destitute because of unemployment, it has never been possible to grant truly adequate relief in Pennsylvania.

Of the two principal categories of relief provided in 1935, work relief, which was suspended in August, came closer to adequacy than direct relief, since—as a work incentive and because of the greater needs of wage earners engaged in physical labor—100 per cent of the budgetary deficiency was provided under work relief as compared with approximately 80 per cent under direct relief. Limited funds have made it impossible to allow full budgetary deficiency relief to families wholly dependent on direct aid.

A further factor operating in favor of the work relief recipient was the unit system of work assignments, which came into use with the establishment of the revised Work Division program in October, 1934 (see page 17). A worker was assigned each month the number of full work units (eighteen hours each) necessary, at his hourly rate of pay, to meet the budgetary deficiency of his household. Since partial units were not assigned, most work relief wage earners accumulated credits in excess of their budgetary deficiencies and received payment for these as "excess earnings" at the end of each month of work.

As a result of these differences in the administration of direct and of work relief, average weekly grants per household for the latter during the first eight months of 1935 ranged from $11.73 to $18.20, the median average being about $13.10, in contrast to average weekly direct relief grants of from $7.35 to $8.40, with a median of $7.56, over the same period. Since the great bulk of the families on Pennsylvania's unemployment relief rolls received direct relief during 1935 and since this was the only form of relief granted by the State Relief Administration after August 31, the adequacy of direct relief must be given primary consideration in any discussion of recent relief standards.

### Appraisal

Factors involved in appraising the adequacy of

# AVERAGE WEEKLY DIRECT RELIEF GRANT PER CASE AND PER PERSON

## BY MONTHS - SEPTEMBER, 1932 - DECEMBER, 1935

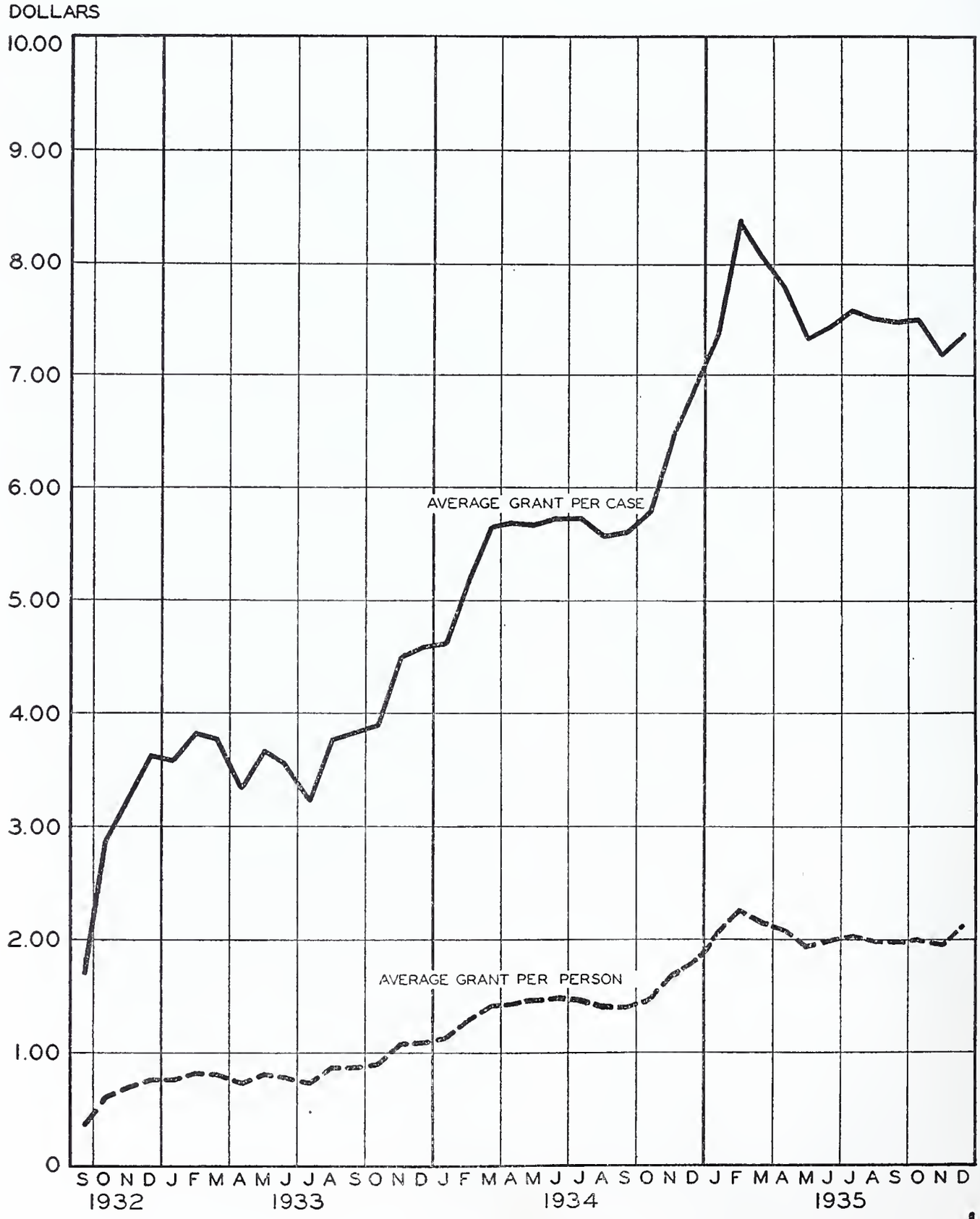



CHART 1

any relief grant are: (1) the total amount allowed in cash or in the purchase value of commodity orders, (2) the basic items furnished or used as a basis for calculating the grant and (3) the numerous small, but nevertheless important, items which are not furnished.

Considering first the total amount allowed, it will be seen in Chart 1 and Table 1 that average weekly direct relief grants per person and per case in Pennsylvania rose from a comparative pittance in the Fall of 1932 to an all-time peak in February, 1935. Since that time the grants have leveled off at roughly $7.00 to $8.00 per case per week and $2.00 per person per week.

Uncertain and limited finances have made it impossible to raise this level. While it may be called "reasonably adequate" in view of existing conditions, it still falls short of meeting the minimum requirements of decent and healthful family life. In view of the fact that upwards of 600,000 children were on Pennsylvania unemployment relief rolls in September, 1935, the seriousness of this situation is obvious.

Chart 2 traces the expansion of the direct relief provided by the Relief Administration. While relief now takes into consideration such minima as food, clothing, fuel, shelter and medical care, it does not include hospitalization nor such "taken-for-granted" domestic necessities as toilet articles, household supplies, cleaning materials, replacements of dishes and furnishings; stoves, stove parts, carfare, and postage, to name but a few; nor small comforts such as newspapers and tobacco, which may mean much to morale. Furthermore, clothing allowances have necessarily failed to provide for adequate replacements, important in maintaining self-respect and keeping up appearances as a help in finding jobs.

Whether or not the financing of unemployment relief continues in 1936, as in six previous years, on an emergency basis, increasing the adequacy of direct relief must remain one of the most important objectives of the immediate future.

**TABLE 1**

AVERAGE WEEKLY DIRECT RELIEF GRANT PER CASE AND PER PERSON, BY MONTHS SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH | Average weekly grant per case | Average weekly grant per person |
|---|---|---|
| 1932 | | |
| September | $1.69 | $0.37 |
| October | 2.87 | 0.62 |
| November | 3.28 | 0.71 |
| December | 3.64 | 0.79 |
| 1933 | | |
| January | 3.61 | 0.78 |
| February | 3.84 | 0.84 |
| March | 3.79 | 0.82 |
| April | 3.37 | 0.75 |
| May | 3.68 | 0.83 |
| June | 3.57 | 0.82 |
| July | 3.26 | 0.76 |
| August | 3.78 | 0.88 |
| September | 3.85 | 0.89 |
| October | 3.91 | 0.92 |
| November | 4.50 | 1.08 |
| December | 4.60 | 1.10 |
| 1934 | | |
| January | 4.63 | 1.13 |
| February | 5.18 | 1.28 |
| March | 5.66 | 1.40 |
| April | 5.70 | 1.44 |
| May | 5.68 | 1.46 |
| June | 5.74 | 1.49 |
| July | 5.73 | 1.48 |
| August | 5.58 | 1.42 |
| September | 5.62 | 1.42 |
| October | 5.79 | 1.47 |
| November | 6.45 | 1.67 |
| December | 6.89 | 1.81 |
| 1935 | | |
| January | 7.38 | 1.97 |
| February | 8.40 | 2.28 |
| March | 8.06 | 2.16 |
| April | 7.80 | 2.09 |
| May | 7.35 | 1.97 |
| June | 7.44 | 2.00 |
| July | 7.59 | 2.05 |
| August | 7.53 | 2.00 |
| September | 7.50 | 1.99 |
| October | 7.51 | 2.01 |
| November | 7.18 | 1.98 |
| December | 7.39 | 2.13 |

# CHRONOLOGY OF DIRECT RELIEF EXPANSION IN PENNSYLVANIA

## BY TYPE – SEPTEMBER, 1932 – DECEMBER, 1935

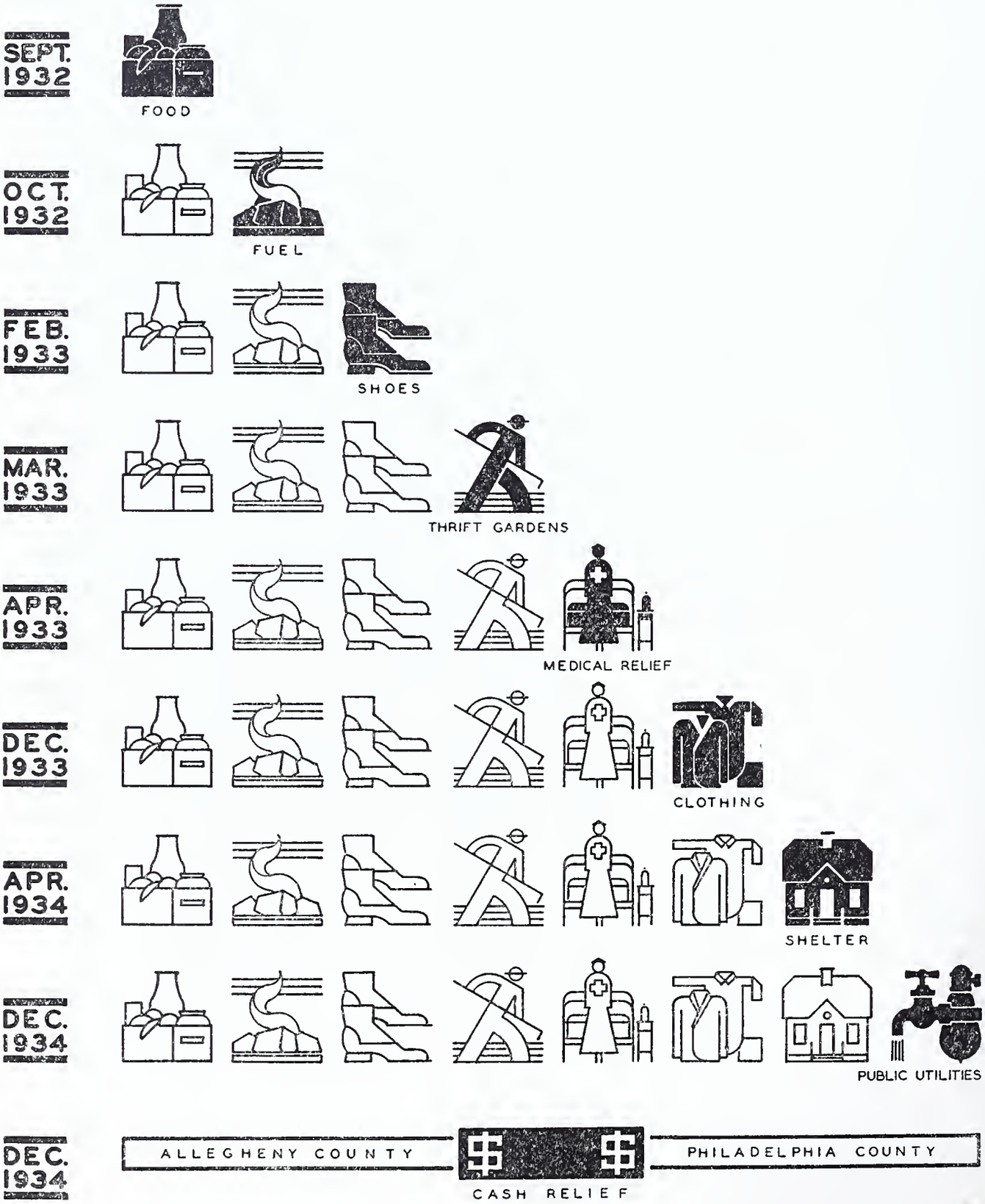



CHART 2

## 4. Facilitating Reduction of the Relief Load in Every Practicable and Humane Way

In addition to the obvious responsibility of granting assistance only to those entitled to receive it, sound relief administration involves the much greater obligation of encouraging and furthering the reduction of the relief rolls as rapidly as private and public employment will allow.

Stated differently, the ultimate aim of a public unemployment relief organization must be to liquidate its own functions. With millions unemployed and with serious national economic problems still unsolved, the complete achievement of this aim obviously belongs in an unpredictable future. Nevertheless, the objective remains, and several developments of the past year having a bearing on it deserve recording.

#### Automatic Reinstatement

Pennsylvania's relief population, which at its peak included every fifth person in the Commonwealth, has never been static. Each month thousands of persons leave the relief rolls because of increased earnings, reemployment and miscellaneous reasons, while other thousands who have lost jobs and finally exhausted their resources are added to the rolls. Before March, 1935, however, one of the most perplexing problems confronting the Relief Administration was that of the direct relief recipient who, while desiring a job, hesitated to accept private employment for fear that its possible short duration might force his family to face insecurity and privation pending reinvestigation and reinstatement on relief.

To reduce this problem to a minimum, the Relief Administration, early in March, put into operation a system of automatic reinstatement whereby a relief recipient who accepts private employment may obtain a certificate insuring his prompt return to relief when and if the job ends.

Briefly, automatic reinstatement permits the immediate granting of a relief order pending reinvestigation of the case. The certificate, issued by the relief investigator at the request of the recipient who has been offered a job, is filled in by the employer who certifies as to the duration of the work and the wages paid.

It is significant that of the more than twenty thousand automatic reinstatement certificates issued in 1935, only about one fourth have been returned. Numerous communications give further evidence of the success of the plan, which has won wide-spread approval from employers, relief recipients and local relief administrations.

#### Employment Office Registration of Relief Recipients

Pennsylvania's system of State and federal employment services is an important mechanism in the transfer of unemployed workers from relief rolls to pay rolls, both private and governmental. Although all employable heads of relief households were encouraged to register at employment offices from the date of their establishment, it was not until June, 1935, that registration and classification for employment became a condition of unemployment relief eligibility.

The importance of this step is obvious in view of the fact that assignment of employable relief recipients under the current Works Program, upon which has been predicated the abandonment of federal direct relief, is entirely a function of the public employment offices.

#### Cooperation with Works Program

In keeping with the 1935 federal objective of reducing direct relief for employable persons and their families to a minimum, the State Emergency Relief Administration has extended all possible cooperation to the Pennsylvania Works Progress Administration.

The first measure involved placing at the disposal of the Works Progress Administration the labor management staff and assignment office reclassification records of the Relief Administration's Work Division. These assignment office records provided the basic information concerning the occupational skills of relief employables which was used in planning federal Works Program projects in Pennsylvania, and in establishing a WPA quota.

Other cooperative measures have included the sharing of thousands of square feet of office space paid for out of Relief Administration funds, loans of Work Division employes and the rewriting of all going work relief projects on WPA application forms. Of far greater importance, particularly in the early fall months, was the continued granting of relief to project workers whose pay checks had been delayed.

The keynote of Relief Administration policy with respect to relief cases assigned to the Works Program is sounded in the following excerpt

from a memorandum sent to local executives by the State Administrator on October 9:

> "It is the purpose of the SERA to assist and promote the rapid transfer of eligible persons to the Works Program. It is also the responsibility of the SERA to see that this transfer is accomplished with fairness and without distress to individuals of families now on relief.
>
> "It is expected that the exercise of judgment and common sense will temper the necessary rules, regulations and procedure surrounding a major operation such as the transfer of several hundred thousand persons from direct to work relief.
>
> "It is essential that each Executive Director and every employe of the Relief Administration be alert to the importance of our present task and to the necessity of harmonizing local action with the general policies under which we are operating."

#### The Problem of Unemployables

In theory, the eligibility rules governing State and federal emergency relief have always excluded households whose needs were not primarily the result of unemployment. In practice, however, few states have been able to enforce such exclusion and Pennsylvania has been no exception.

A first and fundamental difficulty is that of definition. The premise that a household's needs do not arise from unemployment if it contains no employable member merely begs the question. Many competent industrial workers are barred from any hope of further employment in their accustomed trades due to fierce competition and discrimination against persons of middle age and beyond. Others are handicapped by lack of experience and vocational training. It is conceivable that adequate and diversified work opportunities, whether public or private, might permit thousands of so-called unemployables to perform useful functions in society. From a social standpoint, the dangers of all hard-and-fast designations which exclude certain groups either from direct unemployment relief or from public work relief are obvious. To label a man unemployable and, hence, to deny him unemployment assistance is to make him in his own eyes and in those of his family and neighbors a person who is "out of the race" and whom society no longer expects to earn his own way.

A second difficulty arises from the fact that Pennsylvania's poor relief system in certain sections of the State has proved incapable, both administratively and financially, of caring even for the comparatively small proportion of dependent families who might with reasonable accuracy be considered unemployable, while the lack of sufficiently large appropriations to the State's Old Age, Mothers' Assistance and Blind Pension funds has left many persons eligible for these forms of assistance completely unprovided for.

In this situation, the State Relief Administration has been compelled to temper regulations with realism and to make some allowance for local conditions which might have led to incalculable suffering if all technically ineligible families had been summarily dropped from relief rolls. No effort has been spared, however, to effect the orderly transfer to local poor officials of families which, it was felt, were the legitimate responsibility of poor relief under existing laws. By the end of 1935, after repeated endeavors on the part of local emergency relief administrations to reach a fair solution of the problem, the estimated total number of "unemployable cases" still being supported from unemployment relief funds was less than 22,000, with nearly all of these concentrated in three or four counties where local conditions had unavoidably delayed further action.

A further discussion, revealing the distribution, composition and characteristics of the unemployable case load, will be found on page 42.

### 5. Maintaining and Developing a Competent Administrative Staff, Selected on a Merit Basis

The effectiveness, as well as the efficiency, of relief administration depends largely on the maintenance of an administrative staff adequate in both competency and numbers.

As pointed out in the discussion of personnel standards prior to 1935, the State Relief Administration laid the foundations for sound policies during the latter half of 1933 and carried forward an intensive development of these policies during 1934. Accordingly, accomplishments in 1935 have had to do principally with the protection and further standardization of the already established merit system; the extension of training on the job; and the enlargement and contraction of the staff to meet the requirements of current responsibilities.

#### Competency and Compensation

Reference has already been made to the tendency during the first years of the depression to

place the administration of unemployment relief in the hands of volunteers. As it became apparent that the volunteer system, even as an emergency expedient, was impracticable, paid workers were recruited. Frequently, however, they were themselves drawn from the ranks of relief recipients, with needs and numbers of dependents sometimes playing a larger part in the selection than qualifications for a complicated and exacting task. A natural corollary to this situation was the widespread underpayment of personnel. It was some months after the establishment of the State Emergency Relief Board before any general public recognition was accorded the principle that the ablest and most competent persons available were needed and that they should, like other public employes, be given fair compensation.

While the Relief Administration does not operate under any civil service law, the fixed policy, supported by the State Board, of hiring, retaining and promoting staff members entirely on the basis of ability has resulted in most of the benefits of civil service and at the same time has made possible a flexibility in personnel management which was necessary in the face of rapidly changing conditions.

An important gain during 1935 was the adoption of a classification and salary rating of all employes in accordance with the recommendations of an impartial and authoritative study conducted in 1934 at the request of the State Emergency Relief Board. This classification was completed by April 1.

Other developments of the year include the standardization of tests to be used in the evaluation of clerical and investigating staffs and the conducting of personnel audits—roughly comparable to inventories—to provide up-to-date analyses of the duties and requirements of every type of position.

#### Size

The size of a relief administration staff can never be fixed so long as programs and relief rolls are in a state of flux. It has been amply demonstrated, however, that considerations of efficiency and economy alone require a staff large enough to insure skilled and thorough investigation of needs and the careful determination of grants, as well as adequate accounting for and control of public funds.

In May, 1935, the need for further reducing the number of cases per relief worker led the Relief Administration to conduct State-wide examinations for the position of junior investigator. Some 8,000 applicants participated in the examination and from this group sufficient numbers of eligible candidates were employed to reduce the average case load per investigator to approximately one hundred cases. In addition, qualified junior supervisors were engaged until an average of ten investigators per supervisor was attained. It should be noted that these averages, while representing an important step toward greater efficiency, are still considerably higher than similar averages in New York, New Jersey and other comparable states.

#### Training on the Job

The principle of "in-service training" is a familiar one in public service, and the Relief Administration has been particularly aware of the need to use this method in view of the fact that the unprecedented volume of destitution has made it impossible to recruit adequate local relief staffs without employing many persons who have had no previous training for the work to which they have been assigned.

Part of this need is met through the activities of local supervisors, but their time is limited by the pressure of other duties and they are necessarily preoccupied with the more local aspects of relief work.

To strengthen and supplement their efforts, the training department, organized as part of the State Administration in July, 1934, has supplied instructors to conduct short training courses in local administrative units throughout the State. Most of the sessions have been for a six weeks period, the local staffs being divided into groups of about fifteen workers, each meeting for a two- to three-hour session once a week.

During the first eleven months of 1935 nearly 150 such groups received instruction, the enrollment including 1,813 investigators, 171 interviewers and 302 supervisors.

Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties were not covered by these training courses, but in Allegheny County a training supervisor was employed in March, 1935, and in Philadelphia County a similar position was created in October. Instruction in Allegheny County has been limited to the

junior supervisors, all of whom participated in weekly group meetings for a period of twenty-eight weeks. The program in Philadelphia is directed to the newly employed investigators, and includes weekly discussion groups dealing with such subjects as methods of determining the eligibility of applicants for relief, methods of interviewing, the significance of case records, and methods of supervision.

A fundamental objective of training is to enable the relief worker to deal with each individual who comes to him as a person whose situation, though apparently similar to that of many others, is in some respects unique, and to leave that individual feeling that he has been understood, even if his application for assistance may have been rejected.

An understanding of human behavior is an important part of the equipment of those who must constantly deal with individuals in distress. Training discussions, therefore, have included attempts to analyze the reasons for the many types of behavior encountered in relief administration and the sometimes helpful and sometimes disastrous effect of the relief worker's reaction to that behavior.

As a supplement to this general staff instruction, a small training district was established in July, 1935, near Harrisburg, where workers selected from different parts of the State have received eight weeks of carefully supervised field training to prepare them for junior supervisory positions.

In recognition of the fact that instruction given wholly within the Relief Administration has inevitable limitations, workers have been permitted to attend institutes of the Pennsylvania Conference on Social Welfare, and leave of absence has been given to some individuals to attend courses offered by universities and schools of social work.

In line with this policy and with the approval and financial cooperation of the FERA, a group of promising workers was selected in the Fall of 1934 to undertake full-time study during that academic year. In June they were placed in positions suited to the capacity they had demonstrated in training and a needed strengthening of local relief staffs was made possible.

In September, 1935, a smaller number of persons was selected for short-term scholarships on the same basis.

The staffs of local relief offices have for the most part responded eagerly to the training opportunities offered, and there can be no question as to the value of a continuing organized program of training, which will add to the efficiency of workers on the job, and assist those who have capacity for leadership to equip themselves for greater service within the organization.

## 6. Establishing Procedures Which, While Avoiding Needless Red Tape, Will Insure Businesslike Administration

### Responsibility

During 1935 State Emergency Relief Administration expenditures from State and federal funds exceeded $200,000,000. Since the establishment of the Administration in 1932 expenditures have totaled more than $430,000,000. No item of governmental outlay in Pennsylvania has been so large and no governmental arm has had so great a responsibility to the people of the State for businesslike and efficient performance.

Through its financial division the Relief Administration maintains careful control over the allocation and commitment of funds. While there have been no major changes in this phase of the relief program during the past year as contrasted with 1934, continued progress has been made in perfecting the regulations and practices which insure sound administration.

To give the reader some idea of the size of the accounting job involved in administering unemployment relief as conducted in 1935, it may be noted that the number of relief authorizations, commodity orders and cash and work relief checks handled during the year averaged approximately 5,000,000 each month. All of these items had to be examined, checked and recorded, as well as written.

Although no system of large-scale relief giving can avoid a tremendous amount of clerical and accounting labor, undoubted administrative savings could be effected in Pennsylvania by the substitution of single cash grants for the multiple commodity order system which continues in all but two (Philadelphia and Allegheny) of the sixty-seven counties.

### Methods and Systems

During the first two years of the State-wide relief program the research and statistics division undertook the chief responsibility for coordinating procedures among key departments, but a need

was felt for a unification of efforts in this direction which would take in every phase of administrative work.

Accordingly, late in 1934 a "methods and systems" unit was established on an experimental basis as part of the State Administration staff. Its marked success in preventing overlapping and conflict and in simplifying the tasks of local relief administrations led to its expansion as an important activity in 1935.

A basic aim of the new unit has been the fusing of the best practices of each division into standard practices for the entire organization. To this end, all methods and procedures originating within administrative departments are submitted before adoption to the scrutiny of all other departments. An additional function, transferred from the research and statistics staff, has been the writing of instructions covering the detailed operation of special and general relief programs. Pennsylvania has been among the first and the few states to develop and keep up to date complete manuals describing the methods to be followed in carrying out all regulations and procedures—a policy which has done much to insure uniform and effective administration.

## 7. Maintaining a Frank, Two-Way Relationship With the Public, Both Taxpaying and Unemployed

Ultimately public relief administration must succeed or fail in direct proportion to the extent to which its activities enlist the support and understanding, not of a relatively small group of interested contributors, as is the case with private welfare agencies, but of the public at large. In the final analysis, whether the administration involve direct relief, security pensions or work programs, it must represent the desire of the great body of citizens to make an effective social instrumentality of government.

Viewed in this light, those activities and developments of 1935 which have, in the broadest and best sense, tended to foster a two-way relationship between the State Emergency Relief Administration and the public become among the most important of the year. Foremost among them may be cited: full cooperation with the press in releasing reliable weekly information on relief developments and statistics; an increase in the size and representativeness of many of the local emergency relief boards; and the establishment of a special department in the State Administration to take up the problems presented by Pennsylvania's numerous organizations of the unemployed.

### Local Emergency Relief Boards

During 1935 existing local emergency relief boards were enlarged to include a greater number of representative citizens. Newspaper editors were consulted, and from among their recommendations new members were selected. All boards represented bi-partisan interests as well as a wide variety of viewpoints in business, professional, religious, labor and other matters.

These volunteer boards have given generously of their time to interpret to the communities the relief program and policies and, conversely, to interpret the needs and problems of their particular counties or areas to the local and State Relief Administration staffs. Among the most valuable functions performed by the boards were the contacting of local industries in regard to employment opportunities and the encouragement of all community resources which could, in any way, benefit relief recipients.

### Unemployed and Labor Groups

There have been few more pressing problems confronting State and local relief officials than those arising through the activities of unemployed and labor groups, which have interested themselves in redressing the individual grievances of their members and in securing more adequate relief for the unemployed. These activities have taken the form of letters of inquiry and complaint to federal, State and local administrative offices; the sending of committees to district, county and State executives; demonstrations and the picketing of offices where it was felt the needs of the membership were not adequately met. During legislative sessions unemployed leaders testified before committees, and have, in general, been very active in keeping the needs of the unemployed before appropriating and relief authorities.

Prior to February, 1935, correspondence addressed to the State Relief Administrator from unemployed and labor organizations was distributed to various members of the administrative staff, and area and county executives were given little assistance in the matter of their relationship with these organizations. During February the

# PENNSYLVANIA EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

DECEMBER, 1935

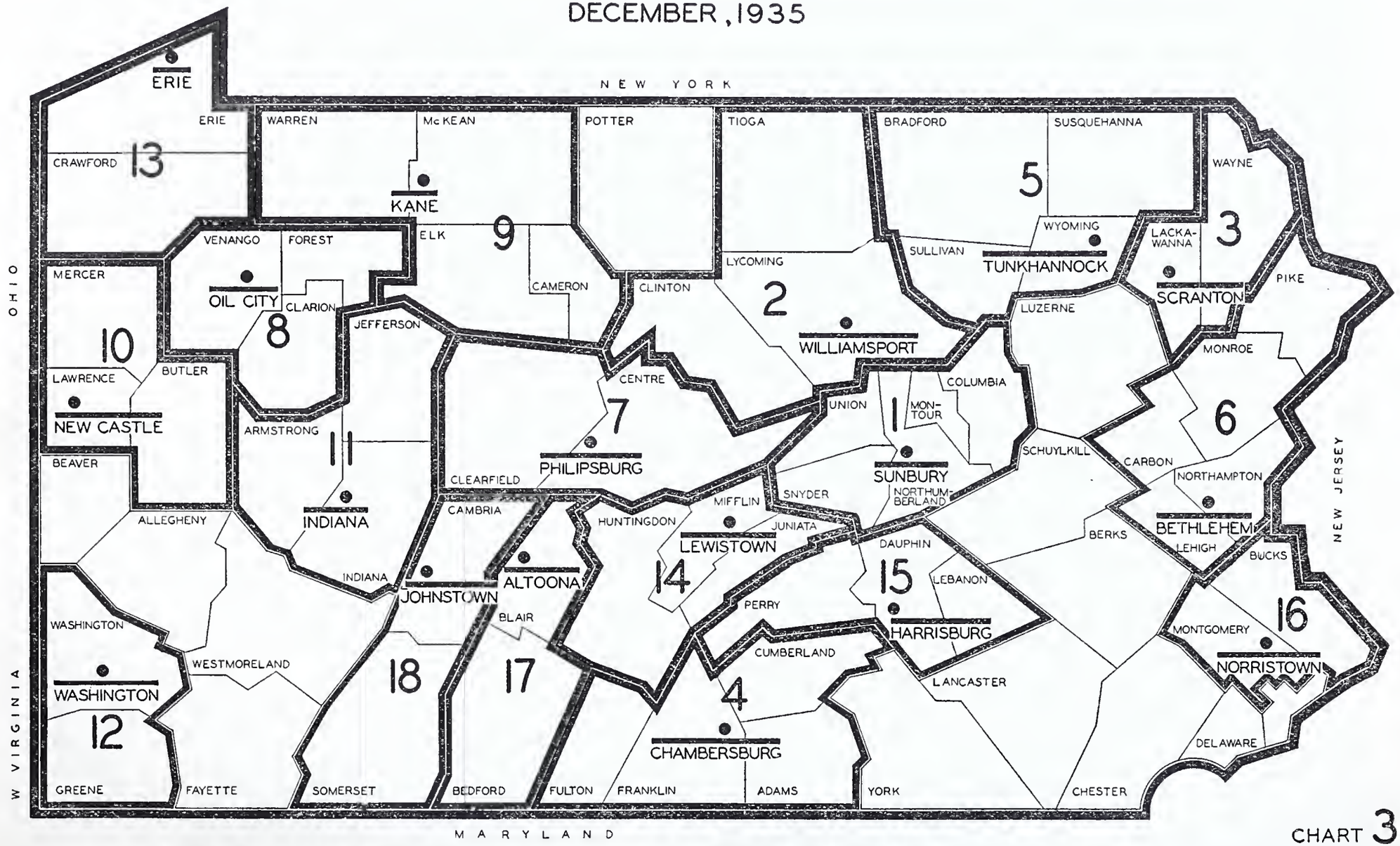



CHART 3

pressure from the groups was particularly heavy, because a session of the legislature dealing to a considerable extent with relief and the revenues to meet heavy relief expenditures was in progress. The attention of the unemployed and labor groups was, therefore, concentrated upon Harrisburg.

To meet this situation a new office, that of Consultant on Community Contacts, was established in the State Relief Administration. All correspondence from unemployed groups was referred to the Community Contacts Department for special attention and reply. In addition, the head of the department was assigned the task of receiving all unemployed delegations which came to Harrisburg. He was asked to discuss grievances with them, to note the most significant points presented, and to undertake a two-fold task of interpretation. This phase of the Consultant's function involved, on the one hand, an interpretation of the policies, attitude and program of the State Relief Administration to the unemployed groups, and on the other, an interpretation of the motivations, needs and program of the unemployed organizations to the administrative staff. Thus was initiated a definite program which aimed to remove misunderstanding and to prevent the threatened war of attrition between the organized unemployed and the relief administrations of the State.

As information accumulated and the experience of executives and supervisors indicated what attitude and approach to such groups gave promise of achieving the most worthwhile results, a tentative procedure was outlined for the consideration of county and area executives. An assistant was engaged to make special studies of local situations where strained relations existed, and a consultative service to local relief administrations followed.

The philosophy and attitude which was thus encouraged did not, in any way, involve foolish sentimentality or weak concessions to organized pressure. But, it did recognize the essential American principle that groups of people with a vital interest in relief are entitled to be heard, and to have some influence on the formulation and carrying out of the relief program. It further recognized that if the Relief Administration's relationship with the unemployed was to promote understanding on both sides and was to be, therefore, constructively fruitful, a businesslike procedure should be set up in every area and county for economizing the time spent in meeting committees and for the prompt and efficient handling of complaints submitted.

Moreover, the machinery suggested by the community contacts department to achieve these ends made it encumbent upon unemployed groups to accept definite responsibility for their share in a cooperative effort and for the reliability of the statements made on official forms provided for registering complaints.

In those regions where some such procedure as suggested was set up, a "diagnostic chart" has been used for recording the complaints submitted. On this chart is listed the name of the organization from which the complaint comes, the name of the relief recipient on whose behalf the complaint is submitted, the type of relief involved, an appraisal of the complaint as to its validity, and a notation as to final disposition, and the time at which such disposition was made.

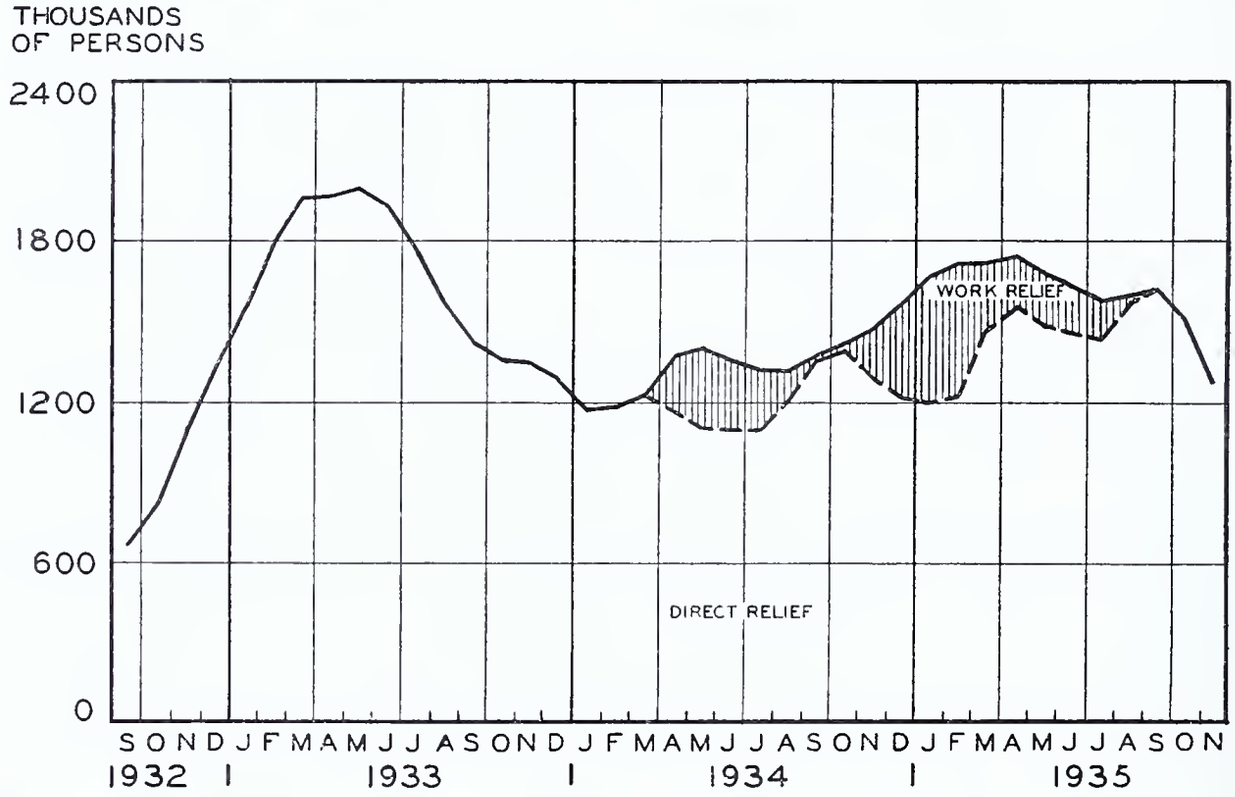
As complaints have been so accumulated, it has been possible for local relief executives to put their fingers unerringly on the weaknesses and defects in administrative service and to indicate those of the staff requiring additional aid and supervision. It has also given conclusive evidence of the quality of the work of the unemployed committees.

It is significant that the use of methods of this kind has improved relationships and actual service, has greatly reduced the number of complaints submitted, and has eased the pressure upon staffs previously harassed by organizations which had, in some cases, erroneously believed that investigators and supervisors were deliberately withholding a full measure of relief in violation of State policy. It has also been the means of giving relief staffs an appreciation of the value to the Relief Administration of a proper relationship with the organized unemployed, and has emphasized the real function of a sound relief program, namely, to provide assistance as fairly and adequately as is possible within the limits set by the appropriations provided, and with due regard to the interests of the tax-payers and the State as a whole.

The invitation from the State Emergency Relief Board to the organized unemployed to meet with the Board in special session on September 19, 1935, and the subsequent courteous and vivid presentation before the Board by fifteen delegates from the major unemployed groups of the State, constituted a high point in the program here described.

# AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF

## BY MONTHS - SEPTEMBER, 1932 - NOVEMBER, 1935




# EXPENDITURES FOR DIRECT & WORK RELIEF

## BY MONTHS - SEPTEMBER, 1932 - NOVEMBER, 1935

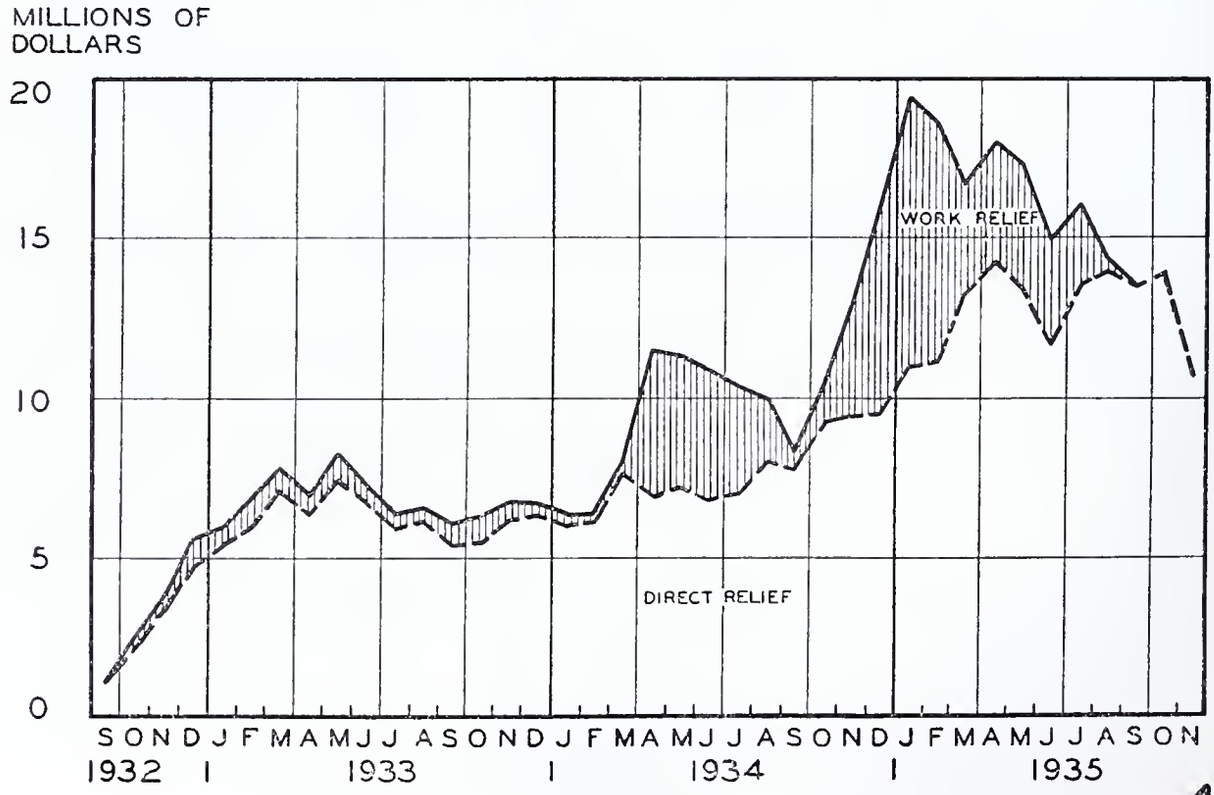



CHART 4

# CHAPTER III

# STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF RELIEF IN 1935[1]

"Research is a way of finding out what you are going to do when you can't keep on doing what you are doing now."
— C. F. Kettering [2]

In any attempt to compare changes in the total cost of unemployment relief with changes in the number of relief recipients, consideration must be given first of all to the adequacy of the aid furnished and the types of programs undertaken.

As pointed out in Chapter II, the history of direct unemployment relief during the first two and one half years of the State Relief Administration's existence was one of gradual expansion both in the items provided and in the grants per person (see Charts 1 and 2, pages 22 and 24). The years 1934 and, to an even greater degree, 1935 were also marked by extensive work relief activities carried on by the SERA Work Division. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that Pennsylvania's largest monthly relief expenditures occurred, not in May, 1933, when approximately 2,000,000 persons, or 21 per cent of the State's population, were on direct relief rolls, but in January, 1935, when direct relief rolls averaged 1,208,530 persons and work relief rolls, with a considerably higher per capita cost, averaged 469,847 persons (Chart 4).

Factors affecting both the volume and cost of relief as shown in Chart 4 were the Civil Works Administration program, which served to reduce direct relief needs during the winter of 1933-1934, and the current Federal Works Program, which assumed an increasing proportion of the relief burden during the closing months of 1935.

## EXPENDITURES

Expenditures in 1935 from State and federal funds at the disposal of the State Emergency Relief Administration aggregated $203,875,122.83 for all purposes. This total was greater by approximately $68,000,000 than the $135,669,993.65 expended during 1934 and represents about 47 per cent of the $437,245,867.76 expended between September 1, 1932, and December 31, 1935 (see Appendix Table III).

Federal grants constituted approximately 79 per cent of all Relief Administration funds during 1935, with State funds providing the remaining 21 per cent. RFC and FERA grants to Pennsylvania from September 27, 1932, the date of the first RFC loan, to December 1, 1935, the terminal date of federal direct relief aid, totaled $327,472,610.00.

Of the $203,875,122.83 which the Relief Administration expended in 1935, by far the largest part—$149,408,644.96—was required for direct relief. Work relief, curtailed in the Spring and finally suspended in August, involved an expenditure of $31,449,259.06. Expenditures for special programs, including care of transients, college student aid and emergency education, amounted to $5,371,330.58, and State-wide and local administrative expenditures amounted to $17,645,888.23.

A recapitulation of these main divisions of the year's expenditures, with the percentage represented by each, follows:

| | *Amount* | *Per Cent* |
|---|---|---|
| Total ..... | $203,875,122.83 | 100.0 |
| Direct relief ..... | 149,408,644.96 | 73.3 |
| Work relief ..... | 31,449,259.06 | 15.4 |
| Special programs . | 5,371,330.58 | 2.6 |
| Administration .. | 17,645,888.23 | 8.7 |

### Direct Relief

Direct relief during 1935 included Federal Surplus Relief products, thrift garden supplies and medical care, furnished in all counties; budgeted cash grants, furnished in Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties; and budgeted commodity orders, furnished in the remaining sixty-five counties. Since most Federal Surplus Relief products are received in kind, their value is not included in the summary of direct relief expenditures given below.[3]

[1] For further factual and statistical information concerning Pennsylvania relief activities in 1935, see the *Pennsylvania Monthly Relief Bulletin*, issued by the Division of Research and Statistics, State Emergency Relief Administration, Harrisburg.

[2] Automotive engineer and designer of first practical self-starter.

[3] For direct relief expenditures, by type and by months, since September, 1932, see Appendix Table IV.

| | |
|---|---|
| Total | $149,408,644.96 |
| Thrift gardens | 275,509.48 |
| Medical care | 3,129,732.21 |
| Cash grants | 67,678,636.17 |
| Commodity orders | 78,324,767.10 |
| Food | 57,872,530.55 |
| Shoes and clothing | 11,933,417.17 |
| Fuel | 4,581,199.79 |
| Shelter | 3,721,435.07 |
| Water and light | 216,184.52 |

The year's volume of direct relief in terms of the relief orders issued and the quantities of some of the relief items involved is presented in Table 2.

## CASE LOAD

The average weekly number of persons receiving relief from the State Emergency Relief Administration during the twelve months of 1935 ranged from 1,678,377 (17.4 per cent of the population) in January up to 1,738,307 (18.0 per cent

TABLE 2
VOLUME OF DIRECT RELIEF, BY TYPE
JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1935

| RELIEF ITEM | Number of orders | Quantity |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **42,576,200** | ..... |
| Cash (weekly grants) | 8,406,329 | ..... |
| Food | | |
| Food (weekly orders) | 11,353,771 | ..... |
| Milk (monthly orders) | 1,539,936 | 58,595,853 quarts |
| Shoes and clothing | 6,501,744 | ..... |
| Shoe repairs | 78,435 | ..... |
| Fuel | | |
| Bituminous | 351,981 | 366,263 tons |
| Anthracite | 326,644 | 313,982 tons |
| Coke | 15,836 | 15,691 tons |
| Gas | 160,772 | ..... |
| Wood | 6,464 | 7,307 cords |
| Kerosene and fuel oil | 78,242 | ..... |
| Water and light (monthly orders) | 156,491 | ..... |
| Shelter (monthly orders) | 660,178 | ..... |
| Medical care[4] | | |
| Medical | 454,929 | ..... |
| Dental | 125,734 | ..... |
| Federal Surplus Relief Corporation Products[4] | 12,358,714 | 40,849,422 pounds |
| Canned beef | ..... | 16,923,233 pounds |
| Roast beef cuts | ..... | 10,006 pounds |
| Smoked pork | ..... | 34 pounds |
| Hamburger | ..... | 732,563 pounds |
| Mutton | ..... | 1,307,961 pounds |
| Veal | ..... | 1,522,087 pounds |
| Butter | ..... | 505,136 pounds |
| Cheese | ..... | 583,694 pounds |
| Evaporated milk | ..... | 3,224,853 pounds |
| Rice | ..... | 3,026,092 pounds |
| Sugar | ..... | 753,280 pounds |
| Sauerkraut | ..... | 1,435,688 pounds |
| Prunes | ..... | 1,388,170 pounds |
| Potatoes | ..... | 9,436,625 pounds |

[4] Non-budgeted items granted to both direct and work relief cases.

of the population) at the year's peak in April and down to 865,843 (9.0 per cent of the population) in December.

These and other averages of weekly case statistics presented in Table 3 reflect three major fluctuations in the relief population of 1935.

The first fluctuation was the usual seasonal rise in relief case load during the Winter and early Spring, followed by a gradual decline from May to July.

The second was a sharp reduction and subsequent expansion of the relief rolls in mid-summer, caused by the dropping of all work relief cases and their subsequent reinstatement on direct relief.

The third was a rapid decline in the number of direct relief cases during the late Fall months in the wake of mounting placements of relief recipients under the federal Works Program.

The largest average number of SERA work relief cases in any month occurred in February when Work Division rolls listed an average of 117,429 cases (500,255 persons) per week. Direct relief rolls reached a peak for the year in September, after the abandonment of work relief by the Relief Administration because of curtailed funds. The average weekly number of direct relief cases in September was 431,319 (1,625,304 persons).[5]

## TURNOVER IN RELIEF POPULATION

While data, such as the average weekly number of relief applications received and cases opened and closed (Table 3), are suggestive of the continuous turnover in the relief population, the extent to which the composition of the relief rolls changes during the course of a year can best be realized by considering a few annual totals.

### Applications

Applications received and investigated by local relief administrations in 1935 totaled 732,194, or nearly three quarters of a million. Of these, 281,232 were from households which never before had received unemployment relief. The remaining 450,962 applications came from former relief recipients. Among the 281,232 applications from households not previously on relief rolls approximately 65,000 were from applicants who had sought relief at some former time and had been found ineligible.

### Cases Opened

Approximately three fourths, or 554,614, of the 732,194 applications received in 1935 were accepted as new cases (181,656) or as reopened cases (372,958). Approximately one fourth, or

TABLE 3

AVERAGE WEEKLY NUMBER OF RELIEF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED, CASES OPENED AND CLOSED, CASES AND PERSONS ON RELIEF ROLLS, AND PERCENT OF POPULATION ON RELIEF ROLLS, BY MONTHS JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH | AVERAGE WEEKLY NUMBER | | | | | Per cent of population on relief rolls |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Applications received | Cases opened | Cases closed | Cases on relief rolls | Persons on relief rolls | |
| January | 17,729 | 13,335 | 6,910 | 431,975 | 1,678,377 | 17.4 |
| February | 15,287 | 12,422 | 10,040 | 450,859 | 1,728,286 | 17.9 |
| March | 14,519 | 10,407 | 9,122 | 455,343 | 1,727,192 | 17.9 |
| April | 13,314 | 10,609 | 10,986 | 459,121 | 1,738,307 | 18.0 |
| May | 14,019 | 9,818 | 12,991 | 447,125 | 1,691,316 | 17.6 |
| June | 12,994 | 9,638 | 11,560 | 436,894 | 1,649,386 | 17.1 |
| July | 16,491 | 10,402 | 16,831 | 424,000 | 1,587,664 | 16.5 |
| August | 17,241 | 15,976 | 10,587 | 426,583 | 1,606,633 | 16.7 |
| September | 11,009 | 8,686 | 10,952 | 431,319 | 1,625,304 | 16.9 |
| October | 12,564 | 8,768 | 16,183 | 406,866 | 1,517,085 | 15.8 |
| November | 11,750 | 8,572 | 27,632 | 350,208 | 1,271,883 | 13.2 |
| December | 11,699 | 8,817 | 25,677 | 249,597 | 865,843 | 9.0 |

[5] For average number of direct and work relief cases, persons and persons per case, by months since September, 1932, see Appendix Table I.

177,580, of the applications were rejected as ineligible.

The above figures indicate that the proportion of former relief cases which are accepted upon reapplication is considerably higher than the proportion of cases accepted from among those not previously on relief rolls. A percentage comparison is given below.

| | |
|---|---|
| New cases opened—total | 181,656 |
| Ratio to 281,232 applications from persons not previously on relief rolls | 64.6 per cent |
| Former cases reopened—total | 372,958 |
| Ratio to 450,962 reapplications from former relief cases | 82.7 per cent |
| All cases opened—total | 554,614 |
| Ratio to 732,194 total applications | 75.7 per cent |

#### Cases Closed

The investigating staffs of local relief offices made 4,316,587 home visits to re-investigate relief cases during the year. This routine part of relief administrative work led to the closing of large numbers of cases and also made possible an upward or downward adjustment of grants to many households where changed circumstances were disclosed.

The total number of relief cases closed in 1935 was 738,261. It should be noted, of course, that this figure, like the number of cases reopened, necessarily contains some thousands of duplications resulting from the movement of families on and off relief rolls, as programs change and opportunities arise from employment of varying duration in private industry.

## PENNSYLVANIANS ON RELIEF

During the past three years the State Relief Administration, in cooperation with federal authorities, has made considerable progress in charting the more important statistical boundaries of the relief problem. Until the establishment of a State-wide organization, not even its bare magnitude was known. Since that time facts have been constantly gathered and out of them a picture has begun to emerge—a picture of unparalleled public dependency, of clearly patterned areas of need and of varied social and occupational characteristics among those receiving relief.

The picture is still far from complete. Certain of its features may be suggested, however, by the following summary of some of the data collected in 1935.

#### How Many Have Received Relief?

No conclusive statistics are available to show the total number of different persons who have received unemployment relief at some time since the inception of the State Emergency Relief Board, or in any specific year. Difficulties in the way of obtaining such information include the incompleteness of early case records, the moving about of families, and the fact that relief "cases" consist of persons living together and eating at the same table and are subject to changes as households "double up" or separate under the stress of economic pressure. Nevertheless, available data make possible the construction of the following estimates.

*Estimated Total—1935.* During the twelve months of 1935 not less than 600,000 cases, representing approximately 2,200,000 different persons, received aid from the Relief Administration. At the beginning of the year 416,967 cases, made up of 1,627,241 persons, were on relief rolls. The number of new cases opened during the year totaled 181,656 and included 544,968 persons. While some of these cases may have contained individuals who had earlier in the year been members of other relief households, it is reasonable to suppose that their number was more than overbalanced by the cases (not included in the estimated total) which were reopened in 1935 after having left relief rolls in prior years. Thus the figure arrived at represents a definite minimum.

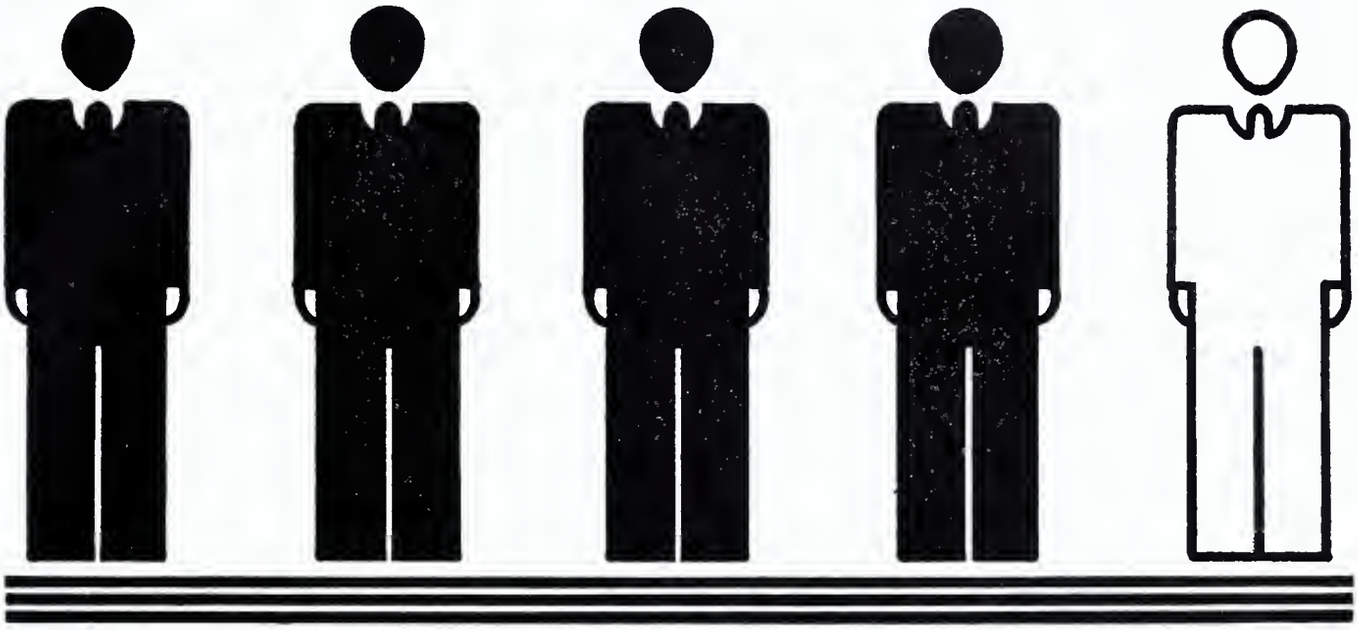
| | *Number* | *Per Cent of Population* |
|---|---|---|
| Persons in cases at beginning of year | 1,627,241 | 16.9 |
| Persons in new cases opened during year | 544,968 | 5.7 |
| Different persons on relief rolls during year (minimum) | 2,172,209 | 22.6 |

*Estimated Total Since 1932.* Somewhat the same process may be followed in reaching an estimate of the unduplicated total relief population since September, 1932. Here, however, the only reliable statistics for the entire period are those covering cases rather than persons, since early reporting of intake and discharges laid primary emphasis on the case.

From September, 1932, to May, 1933, Pennsylvania relief rolls expanded steadily. An

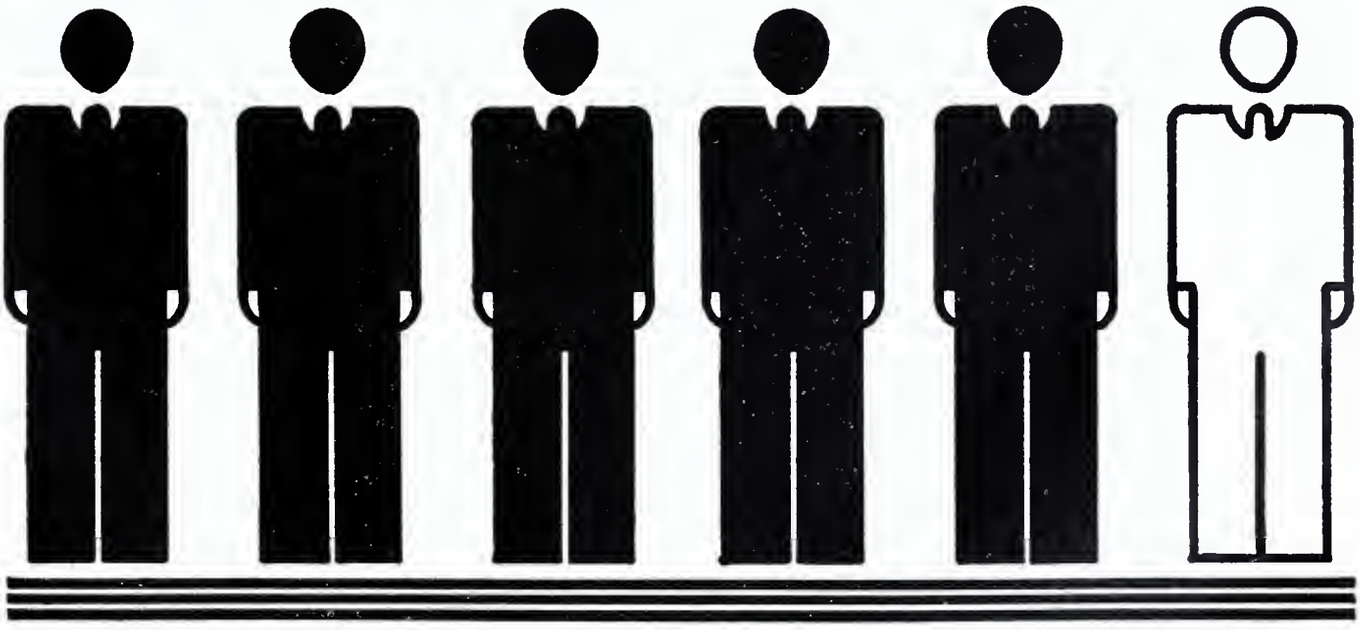
# PENNSYLVANIANS ON RELIEF

IN THE PEAK MONTH — MAY, 1933



EVERY FIFTH PERSON

AT THE START OF THE WORKS PROGRAM—SEPT, 1935

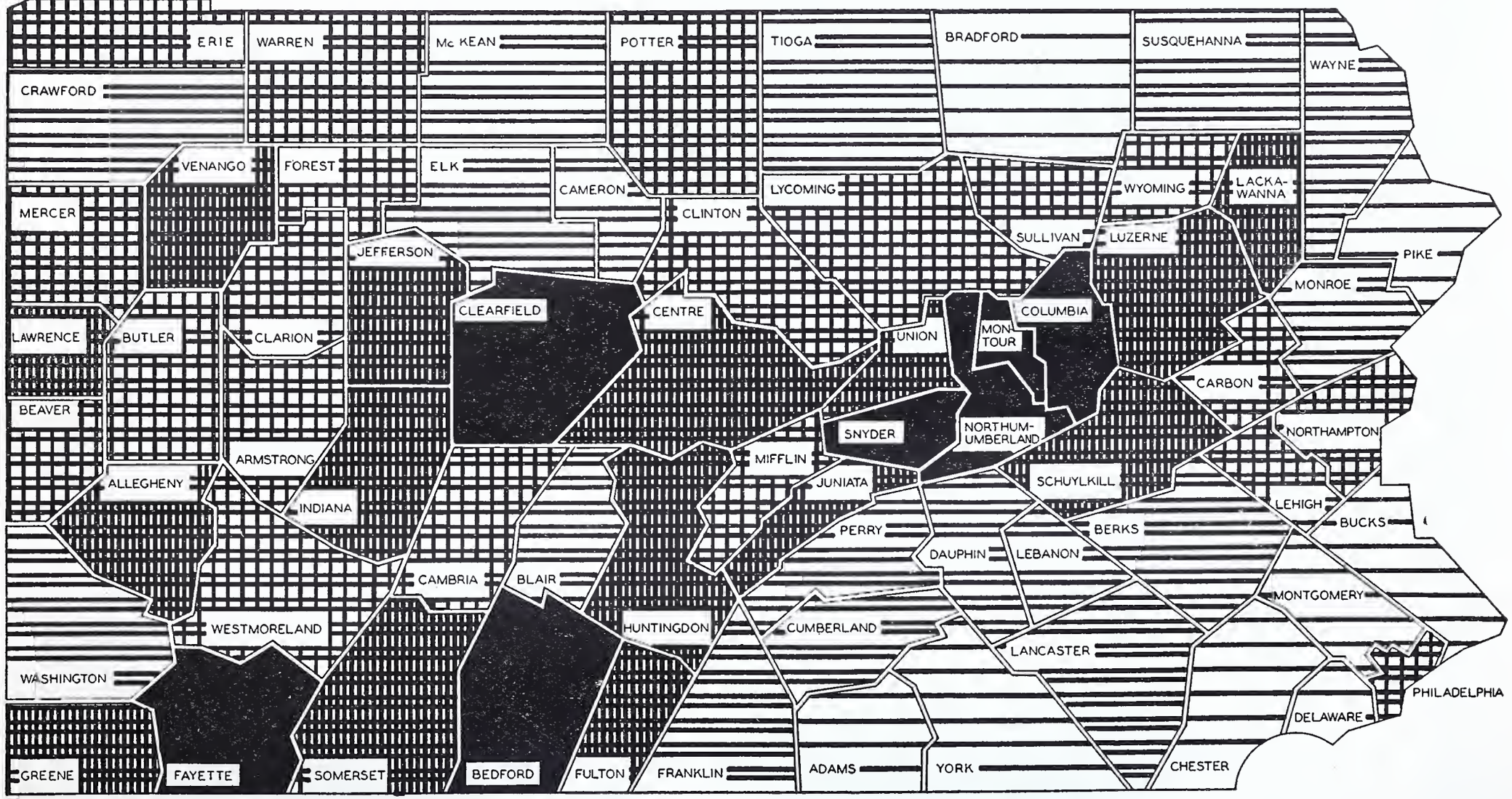


EVERY SIXTH PERSON

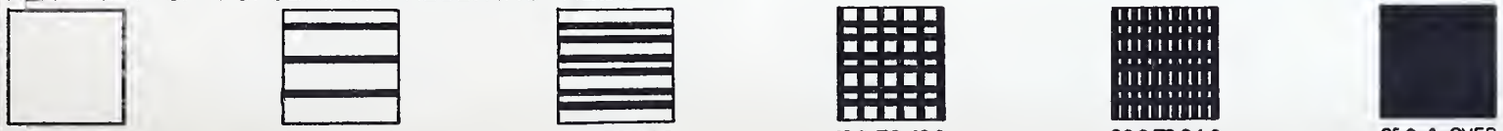
CHART 5

# PROPORTIONS OF COUNTY POPULATIONS RECEIVING RELIEF

AVERAGE FIRST TEN MONTHS OF 1935




PER CENT OF POPULATION RECEIVING RELIEF



0.0 TO 4.9 | 5.0 TO 9.9 | 10.0 TO 14.9 | 15.0 TO 19.9 | 20.0 TO 24.9 | 25.0 & OVER

CHART 6

enumeration at the end of May, 1933, revealed a relief population of 463,944 cases, representing approximately 2,040,000 individuals—an all-time high. From that date to the end of December, 1935, the number of new cases opened totaled 546,341. The addition of this number to the case load at the end of May, 1933, indicates a minimum unduplicated total of at least 1,010,285 cases during the period under discussion. It is known that the gradual breaking up of artifically combined relief households has tended to swell the number of technically new cases during the past two years. Nevertheless, consideration of the above figures and of the fact that the average number of persons per relief case had decreased by only one between September, 1932 (4.6 persons per case), and December, 1935 (3.6 persons per case), leads to the conclusion that at least 3,500,000 Pennsylvanians have at sometime been dependent on unemployment relief.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING RELIEF, BY COUNTIES
JANUARY—OCTOBER, 1935[6]

| COUNTY | Average number of persons receiving relief | Per cent of population | COUNTY | Average number of persons receiving relief | Per cent of population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **1,654,955** | **17.2** | Juniata | 2,865 | 20.0 |
| Adams | 3,245 | 8.7 | Lackawanna | 69,740 | 22.5 |
| Allegheny | 278,571 | 21.9 | Lancaster | 21,948 | 11.2 |
| Armstrong | 12,413 | 17.1 | Lawrence | 21,747 | 22.4 |
| Beaver | 22,034 | 15.8 | Lebanon | 6,994 | 10.4 |
| Bedford | 9,332 | 26.5 | Lehigh | 26,796 | 15.5 |
| Berks | 24,562 | 11.4 | Luzerne | 101,812 | 22.9 |
| Blair | 20,706 | 14.8 | Lycoming | 16,854 | 18.0 |
| Bradford | 4,650 | 9.5 | McKean | 5,512 | 10.0 |
| Bucks | 8,094 | 8.4 | Mercer | 17,901 | 18.0 |
| Butler | 13,991 | 17.4 | Mifflin | 6,746 | 16.7 |
| Cambria | 37,340 | 18.4 | Monroe | 4,172 | 14.8 |
| Cameron | 540 | 10.2 | Montgomery | 20,605 | 7.8 |
| Carbon | 9,824 | 15.5 | Montour | 3,799 | 26.2 |
| Centre | 9,465 | 20.4 | Northampton | 27,317 | 16.1 |
| Chester | 12,017 | 9.5 | Northumberland | 32,394 | 25.2 |
| Clarion | 5,275 | 15.3 | Perry | 3,223 | 14.8 |
| Clearfield | 28,137 | 32.4 | Philadelphia | 319,500 | 16.4 |
| Clinton | 6,076 | 18.8 | Pike | 590 | 7.9 |
| Columbia | 13,969 | 28.6 | Potter | 3,106 | 17.8 |
| Crawford | 8,741 | 13.9 | Schuylkill | 51,095 | 21.7 |
| Cumberland | 8,794 | 12.9 | Snyder | 4,985 | 26.5 |
| Dauphin | 24,412 | 14.8 | Somerset | 19,535 | 24.2 |
| Delaware | 24,929 | 8.9 | Sullivan | 1,128 | 15.0 |
| Elk | 4,231 | 12.7 | Susquehanna | 4,865 | 14.4 |
| Erie | 28,666 | 16.4 | Tioga | 3,410 | 10.7 |
| Fayette | 56,967 | 27.7 | Union | 3,674 | 21.0 |
| Forest | 835 | 16.1 | Venango | 13,383 | 21.2 |
| Franklin | 8,405 | 12.9 | Warren | 6,326 | 15.3 |
| Fulton | 2,127 | 23.0 | Washington | 29,183 | 14.2 |
| Greene | 9,101 | 21.8 | Wayne | 3,343 | 11.8 |
| Huntingdon | 8,535 | 21.9 | Westmoreland | 47,981 | 16.3 |
| Indiana | 16,689 | 22.2 | Wyoming | 2,754 | 17.8 |
| Jefferson | 11,042 | 21.2 | York | 15,957 | 9.6 |

[6] November and December are omitted in calculating the year's averages, because the sharp reduction in the direct relief rolls of most counties during these months was the result of Federal Works Program employment and did not represent a real reduction in relief needs.

**County Distribution**

Relief needs in proportion to population have tended, during the entire existence of the State Relief Administration, to follow a distinct geographic pattern. The basic features of this pattern are revealed in Chart 6, which indicates the average proportion of the inhabitants of each county receiving relief during the first ten months of 1935. Supporting data are given in Table 4. Although fluctuations occurred from month to month, the counties exhibited a marked tendency to keep their respective positions in the general picture throughout this period.

From Table 4 it will be seen that the range in per cent of county population on relief rolls extended from 7.8 per cent in Montgomery—a manufacturing and agricultural county in the Philadelphia metropolitan area—to more than 32 per cent in Clearfield County at the upper end of the hard-hit bituminous coal belt. Actual numbers of relief recipients, of course, were largest in the heavily populated counties of Philadelphia and Allegheny whose combined relief population constituted 36 per cent of the total for the State.

An analysis of the number of counties having specified proportions of their populations on relief rolls shows:

| *Per Cent* | *Number of Counties* |
|---|---|
| Total | 67 |
| 5 to 9.9 | 8 |
| 10 to 14.9 | 17 |
| 15 to 19.9 | 20 |
| 20 to 24.9 | 15 |
| 25 and over | 7 |

Broadly speaking, the counties with the richest agricultural resources and the most diversified industries are to be found in the group with less than 15 per cent of their population receiving relief. In contrast to these, most of the counties containing sizeable urban industrial centers, and all but one (Washington) of the 14 counties[7] in which coal mining is the predominant industry, fall in the group with 15 per cent or more of their population receiving relief.

[7] Anthracite coal: Carbon, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties. Bituminous coal: Armstrong, Cambria, Clearfield, Fayette, Greene, Indiana, Jefferson, Somerset and Washington Counties.

**Urban and Rural Distribution**

Results of a special census of urban and rural cases receiving relief in September, 1935, shed additional light on the concentration of relief needs in urban and rural non-farm (industrial) areas.

The enumeration revealed a State-wide total of 434,481 cases, made up of 1,622,687 persons. As shown in the tabulation below, only 4.2 per cent of the cases were classified as "rural farm"; 22.2 per cent were classified as "rural non-farm"; while 73.6 per cent, or nearly three fourths, were classified as "urban," *i.e.*, living in centers of 2,500 and more inhabitants.

| | *Cases* | | *Persons* | | *Persons Per Case* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Number* | *Per Cent* | *Number* | *Per Cent* | |
| Total | 434,481 | 100.0 | 1,622,687 | 100.0 | 3.7 |
| Urban | 319,915 | 73.6 | 1,129,997 | 69.6 | 3.5 |
| Rural non-farm | 96,364 | 22.2 | 404,779 | 25.0 | 4.2 |
| Rural farm | 18,202 | 4.2 | 87,911 | 5.4 | 4.8 |

The number of persons in these cases coupled with the average number of persons per case is significant, reflecting, as it does, the fact that relief households located on farms tend to be appreciably larger than those located in cities and towns, or even in villages. The higher proportion of single person cases in urban centers was undoubtedly an influential factor.

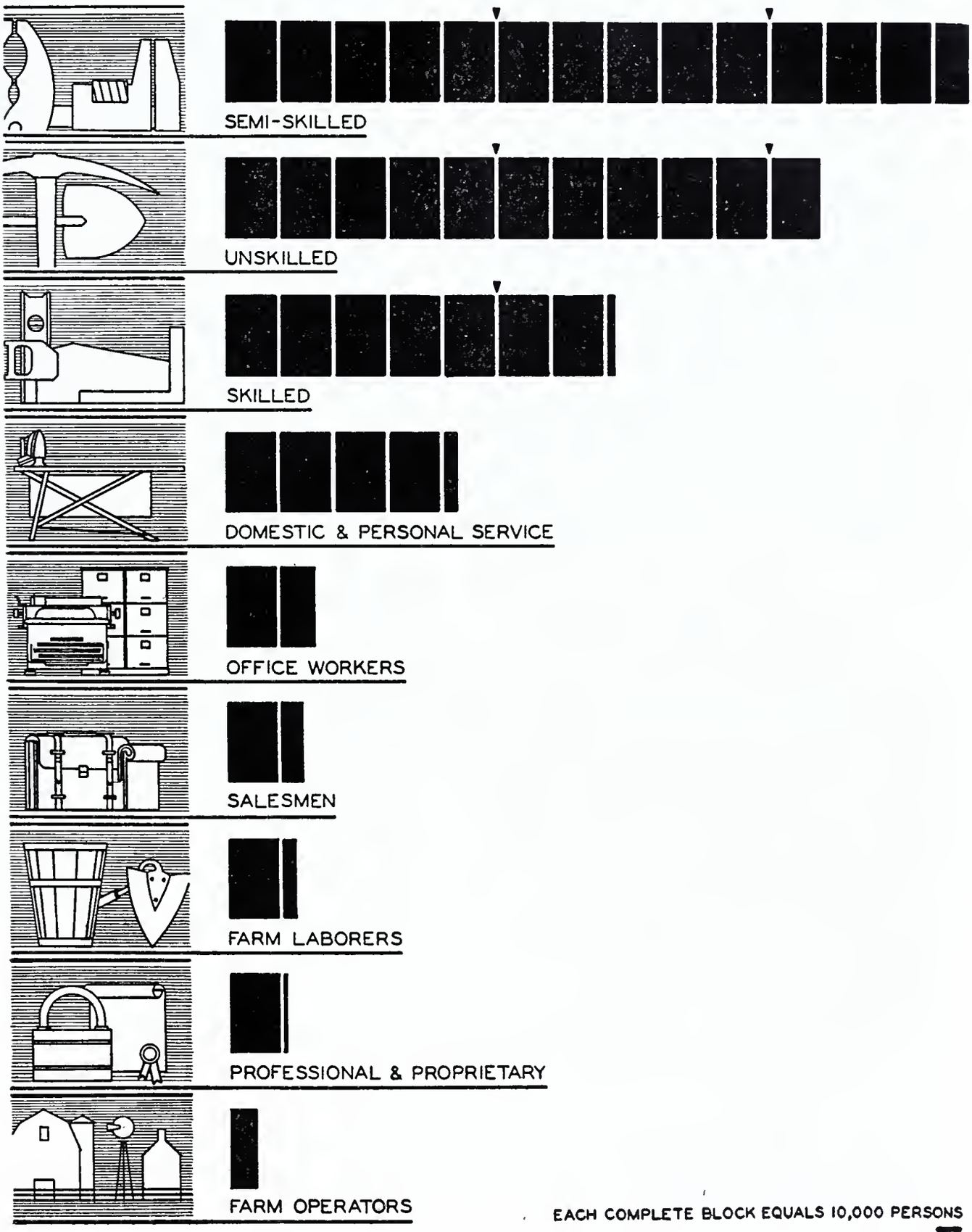
An analysis of the urban and rural composition of the State's population, according to the Federal Census of 1930, further illuminates the above findings.

| | *State Population* | | *Per Cent of Population Receiving Relief Sept., 1935* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Number* | *Per Cent* | |
| Total | 9,631,350 | 100.0 | 16.7 |
| Urban | 6,533,511 | 67.8 | 17.0 |
| Rural non-farm | 2,251,599 | 23.4 | 18.0 |
| Rural farm | 846,240 | 8.8 | 10.4 |

Whereas 8.8 per cent of the total population lived on farms in 1930, only 5.4 per cent of the September, 1935, relief population fell in this category. Conversely, the relief population contained an over-representation of urban and rural non-farm persons. It is noteworthy that the

# OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN PENNSYLVANIA'S RELIEF POPULATION

MARCH 1935




EACH COMPLETE BLOCK EQUALS 10,000 PERSONS

CHART 7

percentage of population receiving relief in rural non-farm areas is slightly higher than in urban areas and much higher than the 10.4 per cent on rural farms. The chief explanation for this lies in the fact that a large proportion of the miners in Pennsylvania's distressed coal regions live in communities which have less than 2,500 inhabitants and accordingly are classified as rural non-farm.

#### Occupations of Employable Relief Recipients

In preparation for the Federal Works Program, the State Relief Administration collected data for transmission to Washington covering the occupations of 529,769 workers, 16 to 64 years of age, on Pennsylvania relief rolls in March, 1935.

A classification of the skills and occupational backgrounds of this vast cross-section of the State's employable population is summarized in Table 5 and in Chart 7.

For the purposes of the study it was possible to determine accurately the usual occupations of 421,000, or about four fifths, of the group. The remaining 108,769 workers consisted of younger persons who had yet to find their first jobs and persons whose occupations were unknown or in doubt.

Of the 421,000 workers with known occupations, semi-skilled industrial workers from manufacturing, mining and allied trades represented nearly one third (32.5 per cent) and unskilled workers represented an approximate fourth (26.1 per cent). It is significant that skilled industrial workers total 71,497, or 17.0 per cent, and came in largest numbers from the building trades.

Of the remaining groups, domestic and personal service workers represented 10.1 per cent, or 42,779, and were approximately equalled in number by the combined total of white collar workers, whose skills ranged from stenography to architecture.

#### The Unemployables

The problem of unemployable persons on unemployment relief rolls has been discussed elsewhere.[8] That it no longer bulks large in Pennsylvania's unemployment relief picture is evidenced by the fact that the number of cases having no member certified for Federal Works Program employment was reported, at the beginning of December, 1935, as being less than 22,000.

A comprehensive survey of the problem was made in August, 1935. At that time a census of county relief rolls revealed 24,358 cases definitely classified as unemployable. These

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF EMPLOYABLE WORKERS ON RELIEF ROLLS HAVING SPECIFIED USUAL OCCUPATIONS, WITH PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, MARCH, 1935[9]

| USUAL OCCUPATION | Number of workers | Per cent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 529,769 | .... |
| Known Occupations | 421,000 | 100.0 |
| Semi-skilled industrial | 136,954 | 32.5 |
| Unskilled industrial | 109,890 | 26.1 |
| Skilled industrial | 71,497 | 17.0 |
| Domestic and personal service | 42,779 | 10.1 |
| Office workers | 16,912 | 4.0 |
| Salesmen | 14,251 | 3.4 |
| Farm laborers | 12,514 | 3.0 |
| Professional, technical, managerial, official and proprietary | 10,763 | 2.6 |
| Farm operators | 5,440 | 1.3 |
| Unknown Occupations [10] | 108,769 | .... |

[8] Chapter II, p. 26.

[9] Source: FERA, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Section, Table XI, Part I, "Eligible Workers 16-64 on Relief, Classified by Type of Usual Occupation, Place of Residence, Color, Age and Sex, Pennsylvania, March, 1935."

[10] Includes 46,444 inexperienced persons.

cases, comprising only 5.7 per cent of the total relief case load, were made up of 51,809 persons.

Some of the more significant findings of the survey are summarized below.

*Distribution.* More than four fifths of the 24,358 unemployable cases were concentrated in the seven counties of Philadelphia, Allegheny, Fayette, Westmoreland, Cambria, Lancaster and Clearfield. In these counties the proportion of unemployable cases to all cases ranged from 11.4 per cent in Philadelphia to 6.8 per cent in Allegheny.[11] In 43 of the 67 counties unemployable cases numbered less than 2 per cent of the cases on relief rolls and in 11 counties no unemployable cases were reported.

*Case Size.* Unemployable relief cases are predominantly small. Nearly half (47 per cent) of the group studied were of the single person or unattached type. Two-person cases accounted for an additional 27 per cent of the total. While there was a scattering of larger cases ranging up to four families of 13 persons each, the average was only a fraction over two persons per case.

*Reasons for Unemployability.* The reasons for the unemployability of the 51,809 persons in the cases under discussion may be taken as typical for all such cases. They include the factor of age—the persons being either too young or too old to work; the factor of mental or physical disabilities among those whose age might otherwise permit some gainful occupation; and the factor of a definite need for an individual's services in the home, as in the case of a mother with young children. No attempt was made in this study to consider such factors as inexperience, lack of vocational training, cultural and temperamental handicaps, and the unavailability of suitable work.

A classification of the 51,809 unemployables, showing principle reasons for unemployability and three significant age groupings, is given below.

| | *Number of Persons* | *Per Cent* |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 51,809 | 100.0 |
| *Minors* under 16 years of age | 19,787 | 38.2 |
| *Disabled* 16-69 years of age | 15,986 | 30.9 |
| *Needed at home* 16-69 years of age | 8,606 | 16.6 |
| *Aged* 70 years of age and over | 7,430 | 14.3 |

*Eligibility for Other Aid.* Of the 51,809 persons in unemployable cases, approximately one fourth, or 12,730, were reported as eligible for mothers' assistance, old age assistance or blind pensions under existing State laws. Included in this group were 6,562 persons (1,676 mothers and 4,886 children under 16) eligible for mothers' assistance and 5,936 persons eligible for old age assistance. The remaining 232 persons came under the provisions of the Blind Pension Act.

These totals do not, of course, include some thousands of members of relief households containing employable persons who may nevertheless be eligible for other forms of public assistance.

## WORK DIVISION ACTIVITIES

Work relief carried on by the Relief Administration from April, 1934, through August, 1935, consisted of two major programs, extending over periods of six and eleven months respectively. The first program was launched after the suspension of the Civil Works Administration. Its primary objective was the completion of a large number of projects which it had not been possible to complete under CWA.

The second program, known as the revised Work Division program, began in October, 1934, with new or resubmitted projects and increased rapidly in scope until, in January and February, 1935, more than 100,000 relief cases were on project payrolls. A distinguishing feature of the revised program was the policy of making wage payments on a budgetary deficiency basis, as explained on page 21. This program was drastically curtailed in the last week of July and finally suspended late in August.

[11] It should be noted that this was the situation in August, 1935. Since that time several thousand SERA unemployable cases have been made the responsibility of local poor boards and State old age and mothers' assistance boards. In addition, certain cases have been reclassified on the basis of later information.

# MAN HOURS ON WORK RELIEF PROGRAM

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF PROJECT OCT. 1, 1934 – JULY 1, 1935

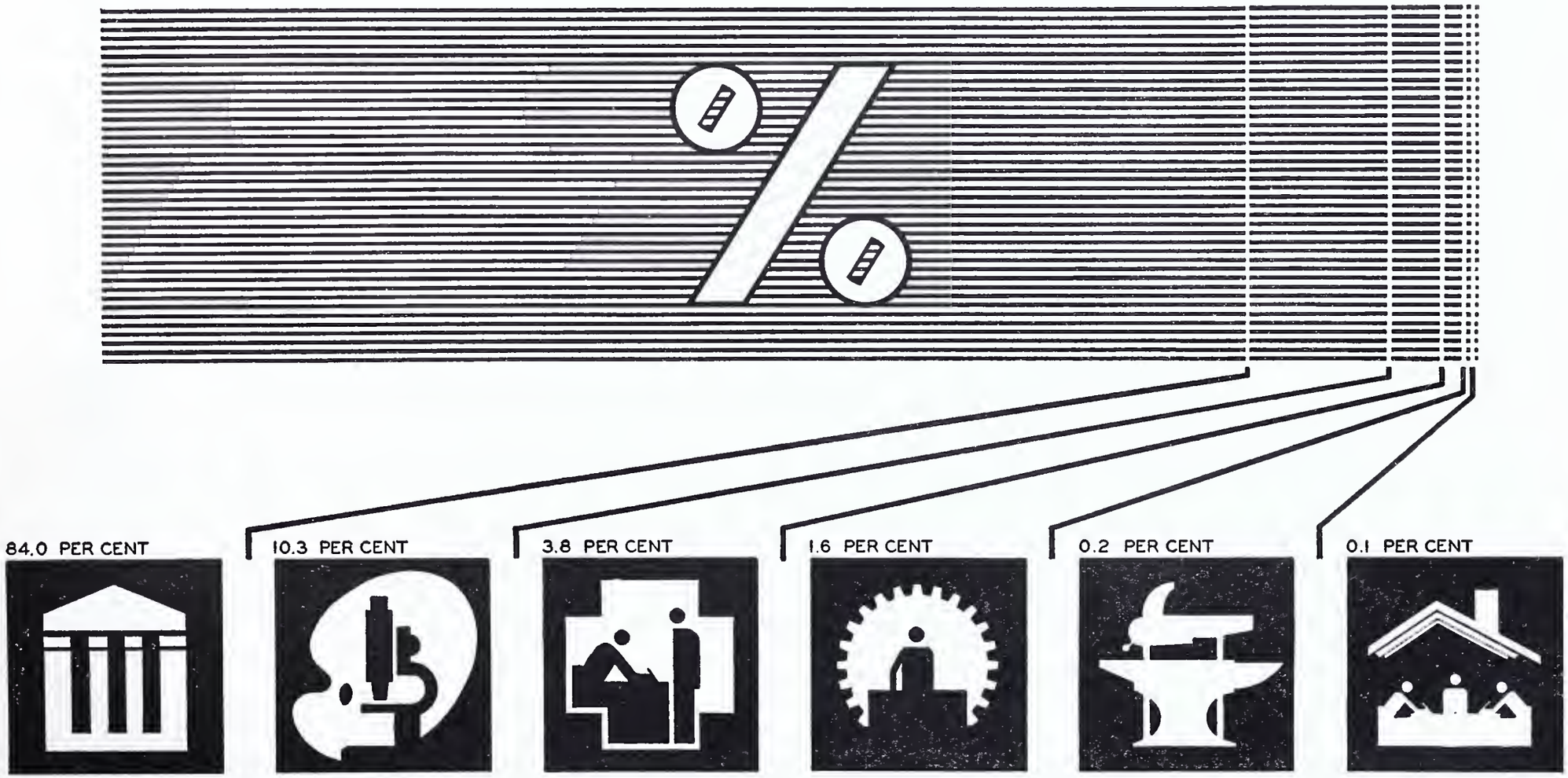



CHART 8

**Man Hours and Costs**

Table 6 reviews the revised Work Division program in terms of man hours worked and wages and salaries paid on various types of projects, while the percentage distribution of man hours according to type of project (up to July 1 only) is presented graphically in Chart 8. Appendix Table V gives expenditures by months on all SERA work programs from September, 1932, through December, 1935.

During its operation of less than a year the revised Work Division program provided more than 60,000,000 man hours of public work. Salaries together with wages earned totaled $35,761,287.41. In addition, $5,272,076.31 was spent for payments to relief workers whose budget needs exceeded their earnings.

**Projects**

By far the greatest part of this work (50,530,943, or 84 per cent, of the man hours) had to do with creating or improving public property—streets and highways; schools, town halls and firehouses; sewers, water mains and municipal gas plants; parks, playgrounds and stadiums;

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF MAN HOURS WORKED AND WAGES PAID, BY TYPE OF PROJECT
REVISED WORK DIVISION PROGRAM, OCTOBER, 1934—AUGUST, 1935

| TYPE OF PROJECT | Man hours | Wages and salaries paid |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | **60,512,584** | **$35,761,287.41** |
| Public Property | 50,530,943 | 28,818,406.47 |
| Streets, highways and bridges | 15,092,012 | 8,131,582.11 |
| Public buildings | 6,505,535 | 4,848,838.29 |
| Sewers and sanitation | 8,153,546 | 4,454,741.26 |
| Public utilities | 2,318,699 | 1,261,344.95 |
| Recreation facilities | 4,872,968 | 2,661,391.28 |
| Waterways and flood control | 4,966,043 | 2,673,979.47 |
| Landscaping and grading | 6,883,188 | 3,792,767.61 |
| Conservation | 332,409 | 171,923.74 |
| Eradication and control of pests | 415,096 | 214,810.95 |
| Miscellaneous | 991,447 | 607,026.81 |
| Production and Distribution of Goods for Unemployed | 1,075,272 | 536,145.20 |
| Clothing | 646,881 | 302,412.50 |
| Food | 57,437 | 32,065.14 |
| Fuel | 21,874 | 11,433.80 |
| Gardens | 13,177 | 7,312.20 |
| Household goods | 335,903 | 182,921.56 |
| Public Welfare, Health and Recreation | 2,550,470 | 1,468,725.92 |
| Nutrition | 30,786 | 16,089.07 |
| Public health campaigns | 133,727 | 75,295.30 |
| Public recreation | 9,848 | 6,093.36 |
| Safety campaigns and traffic control | 15,087 | 14,258.60 |
| Employment service | 1,755,333 | 960,367.84 |
| Miscellaneous | 605,689 | 396,621.75 |
| Public Education, Arts and Research | 6,216,780 | 4,846,923.67 |
| Education | 88,978 | 65,923.52 |
| Research and special surveys | 3,554,902 | 2,952,393.76 |
| Public works | 29,606 | 26,497.05 |
| Records and clerical work | 2,168,528 | 1,469,393.42 |
| Music | 260,841 | 258,015.96 |
| Dramatic activities | 748 | 357.70 |
| Library and museum | 113,177 | 74,342.26 |
| Tool and Sundry Equipment | 106,504 | 68,038.08 |
| All Other | 32,615 | 23,048.07 |

dams, reservoirs and dikes; and many other enterprises of permanent worth.

Approximately 10 per cent of the man hours worked were absorbed by projects related to education, arts and research, which employed mainly members of the "white collar" group on the relief rolls. Projects of this class have unearthed a wealth of valuable information which will be of use to governmental departments and universities for many years to come.

Projects in another main division of activities —public welfare, health and recreation—absorbed nearly 4 per cent of the man hours and provided a variety of public services, varying from clerical work in State and federal employment offices to nutrition advice to families receiving relief.

Projects for the production and distribution of goods for the unemployed, although they accounted for less than 2 per cent of the man hours, made available large quantities of clothing, foods and household goods processed from Federal Surplus Relief Corporation commodities.

## SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Persons aided through special programs, as distinguished from the general direct and work relief programs of the Relief Administration, have not been included in any of the case statistics discussed thus far. Their ranks have numbered homeless and transient persons, school teachers, college students, farmers, members of self-help cooperatives and the families of veterans. Not all of the programs to help these groups in Pennsylvania have been direct administrative responsibilities of the Relief Administration. Funds for veterans' relief are allocated to the State Veterans' Commission. Emergency Education activities, aiding unemployed teachers, have been under the supervision of the State Department of Public Instruction.

As noted on page 33, expenditures for all special programs, exclusive of administrative costs, amounted to $5,371,330.58 in 1935. Most of this sum, which represented less than 3 per cent of the year's total expenditures, was used for the care of homeless and transients, Emergency Education and College Student Aid.

Additional special activities, involving comparatively minor expenditures, included the purchase and processing of surplus commodities, aid to self-help cooperatives, rural rehabilitation work, contributions to the medical expense fund of the Pennsylvania Child Health Committee and "clean-up" work in connection with the suspension of the Work Division program.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF CASES AND PERSONS AIDED UNDER HOMELESS AND TRANSIENT PROGRAM, WITH RELIEF EXPENDITURES, BY MONTHS JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH | MID-MONTH CENSUS OF CAMPS AND SHELTERS | | Transient relief expenditures [12] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | Persons | |
| **Total** | ..... | ..... | **$1,952,949.57** |
| January | 13,868 | 16,033 | 249,897.76 |
| February | 14,096 | 16,298 | 221,131.36 |
| March | 13,141 | 15,571 | 205,784.03 |
| April | 11,061 | 13,166 | 179,627.40 |
| May | 9,413 | 11,182 | 199,591.82 |
| June | 8,658 | 10,305 | 165,224.95 |
| July | 8,395 | 9,908 | 139,562.53 |
| August | 7,799 | 9,072 | 164,541.50 |
| September | 7,369 | 8,729 | 148,938.21 |
| October | 6,044 | 7,176 | 116,372.11 |
| November | 4,498 | 5,127 | 117,722.96 |
| December | 307 | 591 | 44,554.94 |

[12] Excluding expenditures for plant and equipment which are included in Appendix Table VI.

A three-year summary of special program expenditures, classified by type, is presented in Appendix Table VI.

**Homeless and Transients**[13]

This program, in point of both expenditures and of persons aided, was the largest of the Relief Administration's special activities in 1935. Expenditures totaled $2,328,161.35, of which $375,211.78 was used for plant and equipment costs and $1,952,949.57 for relief in cash and in kind. In addition to homeless and transient shelters maintained in 11 counties, the Relief Administration operated 12 rehabilitation camps and farms in connection with the program.

Intake centers for homeless and transients were closed on September 20, 1935. In December only one city shelter, Philadelphia's, remained open and plans were under way to effect its transfer to city authorities. Meanwhile, the operation of all camps had been taken over by the Works Progress Administration. Of the farms, two in Allegheny County and one in Philadelphia County were retained for the accommodation of local homeless persons.

The effect of this curtailment, following a partly seasonal decline in case load and expenditures during the summer months, may be seen in Table 7. As indicated by the mid-month census figures, the great majority of all transient and homeless cases consisted of unattached persons.

A study of approximately 11,000 family heads and unattached persons receiving aid under the transient program was made by the Relief Administration in March, 1935. It revealed:

> Out of every ten individuals enumerated, five were from other states *(Federal transients)*, one was a Pennsylvanian without local residence *(State transient)*, and four were *local homeless.*
>
> Over 95 per cent of the group were males.
>
> Those who had, on the whole, wandered farthest—the federal transients—were predominantly young. Their most frequent age was 25-34. Approximately 72 per cent were under 45. In contrast, a majority of the local homeless were middle-aged and above. Their most frequent age was 45-54 and only 32 per cent fell in lower age classes.
>
> On the whole, the group was highly employable. Approximately 45 per cent were skilled and semi-skilled industrial workers; 25 per cent were unskilled laborers and agricultural workers; 14 per cent were domestic and personal service workers; 10 per cent were white collar and professional workers; and the remaining 6 per cent were inexperienced or with unspecified occupations.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS PARTICIPATING IN EMERGENCY EDUCATION PROGRAM, WITH EXPENDITURES, BY MONTHS JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH | Teachers employed [14] | Pupils enrolled [14] | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | .... | ..... | **$1,655,040.88** |
| January | 2,664 | 206,596 | 211,351.60 |
| February | 3,058 | 238,908 | 204,603.70 |
| March | 3,078 | 240,441 | 229,966.41 |
| April | 2,634 | 219,816 | 203,948.79 |
| May | 2,149 | 336,523 | 168,968.86 |
| June | 1,676 | 238,976 | 120,011.88 |
| July | 1,766 | 192,584 | 127,131.46 |
| August | 1,878 | 664,915 | 184,410.65 |
| September | 1,593 | 248,758 | 132,245.78 |
| October | 1,079 | 107,073 | 50,452.23 |
| November | 33 | 95 | 12,639.63 |
| December | 31 | 87 | 9,309.89 |

[13] See also Chapter I, p. 7.

[14] There are some duplications in these figures, since pupils and teachers were enumerated for each class in which they participated.

**Emergency Education** [15]

The Emergency Education program, financed with federal funds, was transferred to the Works Progress Administration in the final months of 1935. Expenditures under Relief Administration auspices during the year totaled $1,655,040.88. The sharp rise in the number of pupils enrolled during August (Table 8) is accounted for by the inclusion of persons participating in mass recreational activities. Teachers continued on the payroll in November and December were engaged in "clean-up" work, with the exception of those participating in a vocational rehabilitation project which operated with a special earmarked grant and accounted for all the pupils enrolled in these months.[16]

[15] See also Chapter I, p. 11.

[16] For a complete description of the Emergency Education program in Pennsylvania see the *Pennsylvania Monthly Relief Bulletin*, Volume 2, Number 1, July-August-September, 1935, State Emergency Relief Administration, Harrisburg.

**College Student Aid**[17]

Like Emergency Education, the federal College Student Aid program was carried on under Relief Administration auspices for part of the year only. Expenditures in 1935, incurred from January to the close of the college year in June, amounted to $481,568.93 (Table 9). At the peak of student employment in January, 7,036 students in 70 colleges and universities were employed at an average monthly wage of $14.19 per student.

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF PERSONS AIDED UNDER COLLEGE STUDENT AID PROGRAM, WITH EXPENDITURES JANUARY — JUNE, 1935

| MONTHS | Persons aided | Expenditures |
|---|---|---|
| **Total** | .... | **$481,568.93** |
| January | 7,036 | 99,865.08 |
| February | 6,319 | 88,177.45 |
| March | 6,304 | 87,344.54 |
| April | 6,313 | 87,581.72 |
| May | 6,116 | 83,441.55 |
| June | 3,254 | 35,158.59 |

[17] See also Chapter I, p. 11.

# CHAPTER IV

# CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"We have assumed this task and we shall not shrink from it in the future"
— Franklin D. Roosevelt

## THE LONG-RANGE PROBLEM

"Emergency" relief programs are no longer economically or, for that matter, socially defensible. The present unemployment of between eleven and twelve million people, after six years of depression, makes a long-range, carefully planned program for relieving and offsetting the effects of unemployment imperative.

It is evident that business recovery is in process and that many families now dependent on direct or work relief will become self-supporting during the coming months as they are slowly absorbed by industry. If a general feeling of confidence in the long-term picture returns to both borrowers and lenders, new and old industries will undoubtedly absorb a fair percentage of the present national relief load within the next year or two. However, even with full recovery there may still remain from four to five million able-bodied unemployed. It is this group that must be recognized as a permanent national problem.

In previous pages an attempt has been made to review, in historical perspective, the characteristics of past attitudes and measures relating to unemployment relief and the apparent significance of recent trends, particularly those tending in the direction of vastly broadened public responsibility.

It is beyond the province of this report to make specific recommendations concerning the final form for permanent and adequate relief machinery on a state and national scale. Such machinery must be the outcome of careful study, of planning and of sound legislation. Preliminary moves in this direction have already been made. In lieu of more complete recommendations, however, certain principles which it is believed must be taken into consideration in the formulation of any successful long-range program are set forth below.

### Insurance

State unemployment insurance as envisaged in the Social Security Act of 1935 falls far short of covering all workers. In addition, those who will come under its provisions will be covered for a limited time only. It is, and should be considered, a partial first line defense against poverty arising from future unemployment. No insurance benefits are available, however, for the large numbers unable to find employment during a major depression.

A long-range security program, therefore, must include numerous other lines of defense, planned and established on a permanent basis. It is suggested, in view of the body of experience which has been accumulated here and abroad, that the following measures will merit careful consideration.

### Relief

Direct relief must necessarily remain as the last and, it is to be hoped, the unbreakable line of defense. Measures to insure effectiveness include:

(1) Proper provision for federal, state and local participation in, and financing of, relief activities, with recognition of the desirablity of securing state and county funds on the principle of ability to pay. It might be advisable in this connection to have federal and state examiners determine periodically the financial burden which any specific county is able to bear.

(2) Decentralization of relief administration insofar as possible into the hands of representative, non-partisan, local volunteer boards. There should be federal and state supervision of local units in order to insure the maintenance of proper standards, not only as to adequacy of relief but also as to qualified personnel, uniform accounting and reporting and efficient investigation of relief applicants and recipients.

(3) Abolition of settlement laws—a natural corrolary to federal assumption of a large part of the cost of relief.

(4) A carefully planned coordination of all forms of assistance, including present legally designated categories of relief, by means of permanent government departments—federal, state and local. It is to be hoped that this coordination might eliminate the present poor board system in Pennsylvania.

(5) The introduction of civil service practices into all departments of local, state and federal governments dealing with public welfare.

(6) Adequate direct relief as the first responsibility of society toward members who are in need because of sickness, mental or physical handicaps, old age or involuntary unemployment *and for whom no other adequate provision has been made.*

#### Public Works

The proposition that employment is the best cure for unemployment is scarcely debatable. Moreover, there can be little question as to the desirability of a national public works program—as extensive as sound planning and financing will permit—to provide employment and purchasing power to efficient workers involuntarily barred from participation in private industry. Such a program, however, should be completely divorced from relief. From the standpoint of labor, attempting to uphold living wages and good working conditions, and from the standpoint of the tax-paying public, vitally concerned in the work efficiency and ultimate value of undertakings, there is ample reason to support this contention.

It is recognized that a national public works program as outlined above, if extensive enough to absorb any large proportion of the unemployed, would involve a tremendous cost in times of depression. For this reason emphasis must be placed on the proviso that such a plan should not be allowed to jeopardize the public relief which in any event would still be required.

With the above points in mind, the following features of a sound public works program are offered.

(1) Public projects that would be justifiable undertakings, on their own merits, at any time; planned *in advance* of industrial stagnation and launched on the largest possible scale during the period of greatest need.

(2) The promotion of maximum efficiency by hiring every worker on the sole basis of ability to do the job, without reference to needs.

(3) The maintenance of the highest American standards of employment, including union wages, union working conditions and the right of collective bargaining.

## THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

So much for broad objectives.

Pending the adoption of permanent and adequate federal and state legislation, the present problem of unemployment must be faced to a large extent by existing agencies. In this realization, the following concrete recommendations are advanced with respect to direct unemployment relief in Pennsylvania in the immediate future.

#### Financing

Since both the continuation and improvement of necessary direct relief within the State depend on adequate funds, the question of financing overshadows all others.

The stoppage of federal grants on December 1, 1935, created a situation in which the only funds available to the Relief Administration are those remaining from last year's legislative appropriation of $60,000,000 for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1936. The adequacy of this amount for the first five months of 1936 will be determined entirely by the progress made by the Works Program in reaching and maintaining its announced quota of wage earners from relief households. Thereafter, of course, much will depend upon the extent of industrial reemployment in Pennsylvania and decisions made in Washington as to the continuing scope of the federal works plan.

## RECOMMENDATION

**In view of the national nature of the relief problems involved in the continuing needs of thousands of able-bodied Pennsylvania workers, it is recommended that federal grants for direct relief be renewed on a basis which, with reasonable State participation, will meet the cost of caring for every person whose needs arise from involuntary unemployment and who is not actually provided for under the present federal Works Program. Such financing should be arranged to allow for sound budgeting and definite planning ahead for a period of at least one year.**

As pointed out in Chapter II, the Relief Administration has been compelled in the past to accept responsibility for many families in the absence of provision by other public relief agencies unable or unwilling to carry their legally defined portion of the total relief burden.

## RECOMMENDATION

**It is recommended that State appropriations be made sufficiently large to enable the existing Old Age, Mothers' Assistance and Blind Pension funds to care for all eligible persons now unprovided for or dependent on poor boards or the State Emergency Relief Administration.**

In view of the considerable burden of local welfare and poor relief expenditures already borne by certain local governments in Pennsylvania and the disproportionate share of taxation already assessed on local real estate, any move to compel all municipalities to contribute to unemployment relief funds at the present time would seem inadvisable. Local governments should make every effort, however, to improve standards of poor relief through adequate appropriations and the employment of qualified administrative personnel.

## RECOMMENDATION

**Until such time as the poor relief system can be replaced by a permanent and coordinated local welfare program receiving State aid, it is recommended that adequate poor relief be financed locally for such families as are not the legal responsibility of existing State-financed relief agencies.**

### Cash Relief

The extension to all counties of the State of the cash relief plan now operating in Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties was recommended in the Relief Administration's second annual report published in January, 1935. The principle obstacle in the way of carrying out this recommendation—lack of assured financing—still remains, but every effort should be made to overcome it, if the ends of administrative efficiency, preservation of family morale and adequacy of relief are to be served.

The present paternalistic system of giving separate orders for each type of commodity can no longer be justified as an emergency measure. It should be changed, and relief standards should be raised to what is conceded to be the minimum level for decent and healthful living, if the State is not to foster permanent dependency among the still sizeable section of the population requiring direct relief.

## RECOMMENDATION

**It is recommended that all direct relief, except medical care, be paid in cash on the basis of 100 per cent of a minimum family budget, including adequate allowances for necessary shelter and clothing.**

### Care of Transients

The present situation, in which destitute homeless persons lacking legal residence in this State or, in some instances, in any state are virtually unprovided for, is against sound public policy. Nothing short of a coordinated national program, effective in all states, can prevent the spread of vagrancy and a return to the chaotic conditions which existed prior to the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933.

## RECOMMENDATION

**It is recommended, pending abolition of present obsolete settlement laws, that federal responsibility for transient relief be resumed, without, however, the feature of preferential treatment involving more adequate care for transient than for resident relief recipients.**

### Administrative Personnel

In connection with the recommendations made in the last annual report of the Relief Administration it was stated:

> "There is no other field of public or private administration where there is greater need for securing the most highly qualified personnel available. In no field is there greater danger of abuses arising from the incompetence or dishonesty of the personnel or its susceptibility to political domination."

It is believed that the people of Pennsylvania are fully aware of the truth and importance of this statement and that they will continue to give the full support of public opinion to the Relief Administration, to the members of the State Emergency Relief Board and to forward looking political leaders in protecting the existing merit system of appointing and retaining members of the State and local relief staffs.

## RECOMMENDATION

Until such time as an effective civil service plan can be devised to cover permanent public relief activities in Pennsylvania, it is recommended that the selection and tenure of public relief employes be protected by a strictly enforced merit system, allowing sufficient flexibility, however, to permit the immediate elimination of incompetent workers.

It is further recommended that the practice of training-in-service by properly qualified instructors be retained as a valuable adjunct to increasingly efficient and effective relief administration.

# APPENDIX A

# STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE I—AVERAGE NUMBER OF DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF CASES, PERSONS, AND PERSONS PER CASE, BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935 *

| MONTH AND YEAR | CASES | | | PERSONS** | | | PERSONS PER CASE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Direct relief | Work † relief | Total | Direct relief | Work † relief | Total | Direct relief | Work † relief | Total |
| **1932** | | | | | | | | | |
| September †† | 146,959 | ..... | 146,959 | 676,011 | ..... | 676,011 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| October | 180,417 | ..... | 180,417 | 829,918 | ..... | 829,918 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| November | 240,008 | ..... | 240,008 | 1,104,036 | ..... | 1,104,036 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| December | 292,617 | ..... | 292,617 | 1,346,038 | ..... | 1,346,038 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| **1933** | | | | | | | | | |
| January | 343,011 | ..... | 343,011 | 1,577,851 | ..... | 1,577,851 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| February | 391,163 | ..... | 391,163 | 1,799,350 | ..... | 1,799,350 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| March | 426,216 | ..... | 426,216 | 1,960,610 | ..... | 1,960,610 | 4.60 | .... | 4.60 |
| April | 440,819 | ..... | 440,819 | 1,975,135 | ..... | 1,975,135 | 4.48 | .... | 4.48 |
| May | 449,743 | ..... | 449,743 | 1,998,426 | ..... | 1,998,426 | 4.44 | .... | 4.44 |
| June | 443,709 | ..... | 443,709 | 1,940,085 | ..... | 1,940,085 | 4.37 | .... | 4.37 |
| July | 412,569 | ..... | 412,569 | 1,773,089 | ..... | 1,773,089 | 4.30 | .... | 4.30 |
| August | 366,856 | ..... | 366,856 | 1,576,840 | ..... | 1,576,840 | 4.30 | .... | 4.30 |
| September | 328,638 | ..... | 328,638 | 1,422,717 | ..... | 1,422,717 | 4.33 | .... | 4.33 |
| October | 319,885 | ..... | 319,885 | 1,361,223 | ..... | 1,361,223 | 4.26 | .... | 4.26 |
| November | 324,780 | ..... | 324,780 | 1,352,638 | ..... | 1,352,638 | 4.16 | .... | 4.16 |
| December | 311,615 | ..... | 311,615 | 1,298,558 | ..... | 1,298,558 | 4.17 | .... | 4.17 |
| **1934** | | | | | | | | | |
| January | 288,136 | ..... | 288,136 | 1,183,240 | ..... | 1,183,240 | 4.11 | .... | 4.11 |
| February | 295,500 | ..... | 295,500 | 1,191,449 | ..... | 1,191,449 | 4.03 | .... | 4.03 |
| March | 304,566 | ..... | 304,566 | 1,230,595 | ..... | 1,230,595 | 4.04 | .... | 4.04 |
| April | 294,113 | 49,882 | 343,995 | 1,166,298 | 220,002 | 1,386,300 | 3.97 | 4.41 | 4.03 |
| May | 283,673 | 65,287 | 348,960 | 1,104,768 | 302,187 | 1,406,955 | 3.89 | 4.63 | 4.03 |
| June | 274,215 | 67,127 | 341,342 | 1,057,809 | 308,161 | 1,365,970 | 3.86 | 4.59 | 4.00 |
| July | 282,008 | 52,895 | 334,903 | 1,094,298 | 241,171 | 1,335,469 | 3.88 | 4.56 | 3.99 |
| August | 308,791 | 25,305 | 334,096 | 1,215,242 | 110,741 | 1,325,983 | 3.94 | 4.38 | 3.97 |
| September | 344,776 | 940 | 345,716 | 1,368,645 | 4,231 | 1,372,876 | 3.97 | 4.50 | 3.97 |
| October | 355,431 | 4,605 | 360,036 | 1,403,609 | 21,646 | 1,425,255 | 3.95 | 4.70 | 3.96 |
| November | 336,751 | 36,690 | 373,441 | 1,303,245 | 166,987 | 1,470,232 | 3.87 | 4.55 | 3.94 |
| December | 321,794 | 79,643 | 401,437 | 1,221,710 | 349,235 | 1,570,945 | 3.80 | 4.39 | 3.91 |
| **1935** | | | | | | | | | |
| January | 322,922 | 109,053 | 431,975 | 1,208,530 | 469,847 | 1,678,377 | 3.74 | 4.31 | 3.89 |
| February | 333,430 | 117,429 | 450,859 | 1,228,031 | 500,255 | 1,728,286 | 3.68 | 4.26 | 3.83 |
| March | 394,906 | 60,437 | 455,343 | 1,475,182 | 252,010 | 1,727,192 | 3.74 | 4.17 | 3.79 |
| April | 419,753 | 39,368 | 459,121 | 1,567,855 | 170,452 | 1,738,307 | 3.74 | 4.33 | 3.79 |
| May | 401,747 | 45,378 | 447,125 | 1,495,528 | 195,788 | 1,691,316 | 3.72 | 4.31 | 3.78 |
| June | 395,093 | 41,801 | 436,894 | 1,469,721 | 179,665 | 1,649,386 | 3.72 | 4.30 | 3.78 |
| July | 390,722 | 33,278 | 424,000 | 1,444,490 | 143,174 | 1,587,664 | 3.70 | 4.30 | 3.74 |
| August | 423,491 | 3,092 | 426,583 | 1,592,804 | 13,829 | 1,606,633 | 3.76 | 4.47 | 3.77 |
| September | 431,319 | ..... | 431,319 | 1,625,304 | ..... | 1,625,304 | 3.77 | .... | 3.77 |
| October | 406,866 | ..... | 406,866 | 1,517,085 | ..... | 1,517,085 | 3.73 | .... | 3.73 |
| November | 350,208 | ..... | 350,208 | 1,271,883 | ..... | 1,271,883 | 3.63 | .... | 3.63 |
| December | 249,597 | ..... | 249,597 | 865,843 | ..... | 865,843 | 3.47 | .... | 3.47 |

* Exclusive of work relief provided by the Federal Works Program of 1935 and employment provided by the Civil Works Administration program of 1933-1934.

** Certain of these figures have been corrected by small amounts since publication of the second annual report.

† See second footnote, Table III.

†† End of month figures rather than average for the month.

TABLE II—AVERAGE NUMBER OF CASES RECEIVING DIRECT AND WORK

| COUNTY | 1934 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | September | October | November | December | January | February | March | April |
| Adams | 455 | 367 | 330 | 453 | 603 | 786 | 870 | 804 |
| Allegheny | 69,303 | 74,713 | 78,220 | 81,539 | 84,674 | 86,029 | 85,479 | 83,224 |
| Armstrong | 2,728 | 2,842 | 2,900 | 2,943 | 3,186 | 3,282 | 3,150 | 2,788 |
| Beaver | 4,799 | 5,087 | 5,211 | 5,939 | 6,609 | 6,609 | 6,580 | 6,494 |
| Bedford | 1,864 | 1,873 | 1,930 | 2,108 | 2,206 | 2,269 | 2,318 | 2,306 |
| Berks | 5,806 | 6,120 | 6,338 | 6,620 | 7,004 | 7,216 | 7,040 | 6,887 |
| Blair | 3,638 | 3,759 | 4,069 | 4,492 | 4,774 | 4,924 | 5,073 | 5,069 |
| Bradford | 505 | 638 | 730 | 927 | 1,102 | 1,243 | 1,290 | 1,261 |
| Bucks | 1,184 | 1,159 | 1,194 | 1,338 | 1,648 | 1,964 | 2,182 | 2,189 |
| Butler | 2,185 | 2,231 | 2,363 | 2,639 | 3,003 | 3,300 | 3,352 | 3,274 |
| Cambria | 6,647 | 6,972 | 7,501 | 8,040 | 8,480 | 8,571 | 7,712 | 7,652 |
| Cameron | 39 | 59 | 87 | 113 | 118 | 135 | 147 | 158 |
| Carbon | 1,243 | 1,382 | 1,367 | 1,557 | 1,737 | 1,897 | 2,023 | 3,175 |
| Centre | 1,853 | 1,944 | 1,998 | 2,116 | 2,243 | 2,276 | 2,336 | 2,265 |
| Chester | 1,722 | 1,853 | 2,031 | 2,373 | 2,772 | 3,097 | 3,234 | 3,062 |
| Clarion | 1,080 | 1,063 | 1,068 | 1,148 | 1,275 | 1,286 | 1,283 | 1,275 |
| Clearfield | 5,661 | 6,013 | 6,292 | 6,206 | 6,349 | 6,283 | 6,234 | 6,182 |
| Clinton | 1,116 | 1,054 | 1,121 | 1,246 | 1,389 | 1,513 | 1,582 | 1,565 |
| Columbia | 1,740 | 2,062 | 2,347 | 2,651 | 2,908 | 3,151 | 3,300 | 3,272 |
| Crawford | 1,326 | 1,377 | 1,440 | 1,759 | 2,033 | 2,232 | 2,310 | 2,289 |
| Cumberland | 1,613 | 1,678 | 1,725 | 1,999 | 2,333 | 2,588 | 2,530 | 2,323 |
| Dauphin | 4,997 | 5,246 | 5,467 | 5,905 | 6,401 | 6,819 | 6,833 | 6,740 |
| Delaware | 5,751 | 5,858 | 5,961 | 6,454 | 6,828 | 6,899 | 7,032 | 6,916 |
| Elk | 848 | 842 | 808 | 837 | 942 | 1,057 | 1,045 | 1,001 |
| Erie | 5,637 | 5,791 | 6,316 | 6,853 | 7,606 | 8,120 | 8,195 | 8,079 |
| Fayette | 12,617 | 13,991 | 14,994 | 15,629 | 16,238 | 15,210 | 13,884 | 13,498 |
| Forest | 68 | 55 | 74 | 124 | 179 | 232 | 241 | 230 |
| Franklin | 1,597 | 1,571 | 1,677 | 1,840 | 2,074 | 2,295 | 2,357 | 2,287 |
| Fulton | 232 | 202 | 213 | 250 | 364 | 433 | 510 | 523 |
| Greene | 1,327 | 1,541 | 1,666 | 1,986 | 2,169 | 2,405 | 2,356 | 2,210 |
| Huntingdon | 1,692 | 1,799 | 1,973 | 2,207 | 2,365 | 2,370 | 2,283 | 2,236 |
| Indiana | 2,449 | 2,538 | 2,789 | 2,987 | 3,307 | 3,465 | 3,404 | 3,248 |
| Jefferson | 2,248 | 2,239 | 2,301 | 2,322 | 2,456 | 2,556 | 2,540 | 2,499 |
| Juniata | 492 | 464 | 484 | 561 | 623 | 631 | 654 | 676 |
| Lackawanna | 15,142 | 14,418 | 13,990 | 14,427 | 15,078 | 15,609 | 15,395 | 17,598 |
| Lancaster | 4,648 | 4,829 | 4,885 | 5,428 | 6,247 | 6,591 | 6,794 | 6,535 |
| Lawrence | 4,099 | 4,340 | 4,590 | 5,201 | 5,820 | 6,209 | 6,231 | 6,011 |
| Lebanon | 1,429 | 1,453 | 1,461 | 1,746 | 2,067 | 2,124 | 1,981 | 1,794 |
| Lehigh | 5,324 | 5,480 | 5,615 | 6,163 | 6,804 | 7,255 | 7,472 | 7,560 |
| Luzerne | 17,864 | 18,516 | 18,553 | 19,336 | 20,193 | 20,903 | 21,898 | 25,270 |
| Lycoming | 3,485 | 3,521 | 3,554 | 4,173 | 4,599 | 4,808 | 4,739 | 4,789 |
| McKean | 906 | 885 | 937 | 1,183 | 1,400 | 1,597 | 1,657 | 1,575 |
| Mercer | 3,583 | 3,783 | 4,155 | 4,567 | 4,904 | 5,142 | 4,836 | 4,570 |
| Mifflin | 1,617 | 1,579 | 1,679 | 1,761 | 1,826 | 1,783 | 1,631 | 1,489 |
| Monroe | 414 | 535 | 673 | 882 | 1,164 | 1,329 | 1,290 | 1,229 |
| Montgomery | 4,428 | 4,810 | 5,052 | 5,579 | 5,751 | 6,086 | 6,260 | 5,965 |
| Montour | 565 | 537 | 623 | 741 | 855 | 922 | 932 | 867 |
| Northampton | 4,603 | 5,062 | 5,599 | 6,318 | 7,084 | 7,768 | 8,089 | 8,005 |
| Northumberland | 5,398 | 5,612 | 5,864 | 6,145 | 6,204 | 6,374 | 6,653 | 7,092 |
| Perry | 368 | 367 | 415 | 571 | 704 | 739 | 770 | 767 |
| Philadelphia | 72,848 | 74,900 | 76,887 | 84,154 | 92,877 | 99,259 | 102,942 | 105,694 |
| Pike | 52 | 59 | 67 | 90 | 127 | 190 | 214 | 193 |
| Potter | 258 | 383 | 509 | 674 | 817 | 948 | 1,056 | 974 |
| Schuylkill | 11,158 | 11,270 | 11,084 | 11,378 | 11,487 | 12,022 | 12,827 | 14,783 |
| Snyder | 872 | 894 | 923 | 1,016 | 1,119 | 1,145 | 1,113 | 1,033 |
| Somerset | 3,709 | 3,719 | 3,758 | 3,926 | 4,172 | 4,447 | 4,300 | 4,087 |
| Sullivan | 94 | 87 | 87 | 126 | 166 | 184 | 207 | 271 |
| Susquehanna | 613 | 633 | 707 | 903 | 1,078 | 1,205 | 1,326 | 1,439 |
| Tioga | 461 | 545 | 631 | 784 | 886 | 965 | 977 | 935 |
| Union | 549 | 526 | 546 | 642 | 758 | 837 | 876 | 827 |
| Venango | 2,982 | 3,006 | 3,091 | 3,260 | 3,584 | 3,808 | 3,779 | 3,616 |
| Warren | 1,155 | 1,136 | 1,212 | 1,370 | 1,543 | 1,706 | 1,782 | 1,746 |
| Washington | 6,227 | 6,519 | 6,717 | 7,075 | 7,618 | 7,731 | 7,610 | 7,087 |
| Wayne | 309 | 371 | 454 | 581 | 693 | 815 | 892 | 930 |
| Westmoreland | 10,740 | 10,608 | 10,791 | 11,301 | 11,956 | 12,258 | 11,952 | 11,373 |
| Wyoming | 211 | 228 | 352 | 488 | 551 | 651 | 713 | 724 |
| York | 3,143 | 3,042 | 2,995 | 3,287 | 3,845 | 4,306 | 4,790 | 4,636 |
| **Total** | **345,716** | **360,036** | **373,441** | **401,437** | **431,975** | **450,859** | **455,343** | **459,121** |

* Exclusive of work relief provided by the Federal Works Program of 1935 and employment provided by the Civil Works Administration program of 1933-1934.

RELIEF, BY COUNTIES AND BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1934—DECEMBER, 1935 *

| 1935 | | | | | | | | COUNTY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May | June | July | August | September | October | November | December | |
| 675 | 538 | 492 | 525 | 526 | 483 | 261 | 206 | Adams |
| 81,685 | 81,233 | 79,752 | 77,923 | 77,981 | 73,540 | 67,424 | 57,089 | Allegheny |
| 2,613 | 2,725 | 2,560 | 2,869 | 3,158 | 3,114 | 2,681 | 1,389 | Armstrong |
| 6,441 | 6,318 | 6,158 | 6,017 | 5,884 | 5,469 | 4,296 | 2,419 | Beaver |
| 2,297 | 2,315 | 2,207 | 2,047 | 1,916 | 1,657 | 1,236 | 509 | Bedford |
| 6,576 | 6,297 | 6,281 | 6,215 | 6,499 | 6,245 | 5,289 | 3,808 | Berks |
| 4,873 | 4,834 | 4,831 | 4,930 | 5,291 | 5,359 | 4,496 | 2,544 | Blair |
| 1,027 | 1,034 | 1,065 | 993 | 892 | 836 | 565 | 249 | Bradford |
| 2,027 | 1,864 | 1,791 | 1,675 | 1,582 | 1,370 | 1,092 | 906 | Bucks |
| 3,146 | 3,235 | 3,230 | 3,353 | 3,258 | 2,774 | 1,856 | 908 | Butler |
| 8,665 | 9,685 | 8,878 | 9,778 | 10,448 | 9,063 | 7,239 | 4,108 | Cambria |
| 150 | 138 | 141 | 152 | 129 | 53 | 39 | 29 | Cameron |
| 3,043 | 2,342 | 2,183 | 2,142 | 2,063 | 1,936 | 1,476 | 883 | Carbon |
| 2,104 | 2,067 | 2,118 | 2,139 | 2,090 | 1,636 | 1,344 | 833 | Centre |
| 2,820 | 2,671 | 2,550 | 2,442 | 2,413 | 2,245 | 1,524 | 1,100 | Chester |
| 1,252 | 1,266 | 1,245 | 1,276 | 1,229 | 1,134 | .951 | 614 | Clarion |
| 6,281 | 6,379 | 6,243 | 6,561 | 6,425 | 5,495 | 4,343 | 3,393 | Clearfield |
| 1,496 | 1,451 | 1,445 | 1,358 | 1,377 | 1,334 | 989 | 763 | Clinton |
| 3,019 | 2,895 | 2,802 | 2,606 | 2,332 | 1,985 | 1,461 | 691 | Columbia |
| 2,198 | 2,090 | 2,020 | 1,979 | 2,022 | 2,032 | 1,888 | 1,527 | Crawford |
| 2,019 | 1,887 | 1,877 | 1,720 | 1,684 | 1,544 | 1,229 | 616 | Cumberland |
| 6,339 | 6,082 | 5,629 | 5,573 | 6,048 | 5,612 | 4,677 | 2,700 | Dauphin |
| 6,151 | 5,799 | 5,763 | 5,743 | 5,658 | 5,272 | 4,683 | 2,711 | Delaware |
| 1,041 | 1,022 | 974 | 1,012 | 986 | 891 | 584 | 274 | Elk |
| 7,698 | 7,427 | 7,211 | 7,132 | 7,295 | 7,235 | 6,607 | 4,817 | Erie |
| 13,993 | 13,525 | 13,215 | 14,006 | 14,048 | 13,865 | 12,203 | 5,488 | Fayette |
| 195 | 168 | 175 | 176 | 156 | 143 | 116 | 82 | Forest |
| 2,108 | 1,799 | 1,610 | 1,577 | 1,522 | 1,312 | 1,058 | 668 | Franklin |
| 509 | 477 | 468 | 442 | 427 | 382 | 253 | 132 | Fulton |
| 2,121 | 2,008 | 1,992 | 1,847 | 1,886 | 2,253 | 1,855 | 621 | Greene |
| 2,236 | 2,161 | 2,145 | 1,993 | 1,897 | 1,754 | 1,307 | 624 | Huntingdon |
| 3,505 | 3,687 | 3,643 | 4,196 | 4,080 | 3,934 | 3,547 | 1,986 | Indiana |
| 2,488 | 2,522 | 2,412 | 2,528 | 2,528 | 2,422 | 1,964 | 1,070 | Jefferson |
| 641 | 597 | 608 | 602 | 560 | 534 | 440 | 223 | Juniata |
| 17,881 | 17,523 | 16,927 | 17,365 | 17,900 | 17,020 | 15,445 | 9,791 | Lackawanna |
| 6,101 | 5,939 | 5,786 | 5,703 | 5,465 | 4,828 | 3,832 | 2,495 | Lancaster |
| 5,673 | 5,515 | 5,463 | 5,644 | 5,543 | 5,231 | 4,186 | 2,017 | Lawrence |
| 1,598 | 1,532 | 1,427 | 1,353 | 1,454 | 1,366 | 771 | 378 | Lehanon |
| 7,281 | 7,261 | 7,171 | 7,012 | 6,885 | 6,456 | 5,384 | 4,313 | Lehigh |
| 25,938 | 25,658 | 24,381 | 24,541 | 26,276 | 24,044 | 17,318 | 9,591 | Luzerne |
| 4,685 | 4,370 | 4,108 | 4,014 | 3,963 | 3,887 | 2,988 | 1,570 | Lycoming |
| 1,415 | 1,257 | 1,213 | 1,197 | 1,178 | 1,070 | 631 | 491 | McKean |
| 4,372 | 4,472 | 4,585 | 4,407 | 4,229 | 4,076 | 3,151 | 1,537 | Mercer |
| 1,388 | 1,380 | 1,406 | 1,449 | 1,440 | 1,322 | 1,080 | 592 | Mifflin |
| 970 | 905 | 815 | 669 | 748 | 808 | 771 | 573 | Monroe |
| 5,039 | 4,394 | 3,980 | 3,812 | 3,629 | 2,884 | 2,288 | 1,583 | Montgomery |
| 764 | 693 | 708 | 713 | 720 | 724 | 626 | 307 | Montour |
| 6,936 | 6,521 | 6,373 | 6,292 | 6,182 | 5,574 | 4,291 | 3,057 | Northampton |
| 6,948 | 7,382 | 7,512 | 7,921 | 7,814 | 7,073 | 5,823 | 3,282 | Northumberland |
| 664 | 638 | 657 | 625 | 670 | 638 | 514 | 307 | Perry |
| 103,065 | 99,927 | 96,486 | 98,035 | 99,916 | 97,880 | 91,976 | 81,736 | Philadelphia |
| 145 | 97 | 88 | 76 | 78 | 87 | 92 | 102 | Pike |
| 806 | 667 | 648 | 637 | 595 | 551 | 401 | 310 | Potter |
| 13,910 | 13,169 | 12,026 | 12,283 | 13,659 | 12,302 | 8,619 | 3,504 | Schuylkill |
| 955 | 900 | 906 | 901 | 906 | 872 | 654 | 245 | Snyder |
| 4,385 | 4,617 | 4,562 | 5,178 | 4,896 | 4,178 | 3,839 | 1,796 | Somerset |
| 293 | 294 | 309 | 278 | 219 | 196 | 156 | 71 | Sullivan |
| 1,236 | 1,140 | 1,089 | 1,106 | 1,086 | 1,167 | 1,205 | 935 | Susquehanna |
| 829 | 683 | 725 | 719 | 709 | 665 | 387 | 238 | Tioga |
| 766 | 747 | 738 | 734 | 711 | 674 | 473 | 174 | Union |
| 3,341 | 3,232 | 3,155 | 3,004 | 2,853 | 2,737 | 2,255 | 1,395 | Venango |
| 1,588 | 1,411 | 1,420 | 1,359 | 1,272 | 1,272 | 918 | 316 | Warren |
| 7,508 | 7,047 | 6,898 | 6,961 | 7,141 | 6,632 | 5,661 | 2,874 | Washington |
| 837 | 709 | 733 | 702 | 665 | 602 | 566 | 427 | Wayne |
| 11,539 | 11,755 | 11,679 | 12,195 | 11,933 | 11,138 | 9,491 | 5,316 | Westmoreland |
| 713 | 678 | 679 | 653 | 618 | 589 | 485 | 298 | Wyoming |
| 4,124 | 3,843 | 3,633 | 3,518 | 3,676 | 3,410 | 2,958 | 1,996 | York |
| **447,125** | **436,894** | **424,000** | **426,583** | **431,319** | **406,866** | **350,208** | **249,597** | **Total** |

TABLE III—EXPENDITURES FROM STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS FOR DIRECT RELIEF, WORK RELIEF, SPECIAL PROGRAMS, AND ADMINISTRATION, BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935 *

| MONTH AND YEAR | Direct relief | Work ** relief | Special programs | Administration | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1932** | | | | | |
| September | $ 1,062,303.51 | $ ..... | $..... | $10,809.26 | $1,073,112.77 |
| October | 2,291,016.53 | 21,907.03 | ..... | 44,624.40 | 2,357,547.96 |
| November | 3,378,053.13 | 453,543.36 | ..... | 58,294.12 | 3,889,890.61 |
| December | 4,715,575.18 | 793,608.04 | ..... | 115,047.45 | 5,624,230.67 |
| **1933** | | | | | |
| January | 5,477,249.98 | 466,442.50 | ..... | 143,664.56 | 6,087,357.04 |
| February | 6,012,456.90 | 746,844.77 | ..... | 182,355.36 | 6,941,657.03 |
| March | 7,146,385.51 | 588,237.98 | ..... | 210,636.42 | 7,945,259.91 |
| April | 6,375,039.04 | 469,140.71 | ..... | 223,208.77 | 7,067,388.52 |
| May | 7,322,026.53 | 831,155.24 | ..... | 249,334.12 | 8,402,515.89 |
| June | 6,794,142.26 | 454,235.21 | 1,110.05 | 255,830.45 | 7,505,317.97 |
| July | 5,960,716.93 | 357,417.93 | 16,501.81 | 269,825.73 | 6,604,462.40 |
| August | 6,136,148.19 | 333,988.92 | 16,050.86 | 282,333.60 | 6,768,521.57 |
| September | 5,420,309.77 | 560,105.55 | 16,660.62 | 320,247.89 | 6,317,323.83 |
| October | 5,535,859.79 | 769,455.03 | 16,488.22 | 330,848.81 | 6,652,651.85 |
| November | 6,259,156.41 | 500,638.57 | 44,222.85 | 356,888.46 | 7,160,906.29 |
| December | 6,354,065.63 | 280,051.26 | 95,935.04 | 373,023.56 | 7,103,075.49 |
| **1934** | | | | | |
| January | 6,004,453.98 | 251,407.16 | 147,902.00 | 406,884.98 | 6,810,648.12 |
| February | 6,117,090.37 | 94,002.93 | 190,392.12 | 383,671.52 | 6,785,156.94 |
| March | 7,753,344.99 | 77,162.27 | 259,370.66 | 455,642.48 | 8,545,520.40 |
| April | 6,989,491.47 | 4,421,122.99 | 305,797.35 | 685,909.24 | 12,402,321.05 |
| May | 7,248,967.59 | 4,030,066.68 | 265,190.43 | 777,650.58 | 12,321,875.28 |
| June | 6,820,973.22 | 4,070,764.89 | 174,589.00 | 877,554.64 | 11,943,881.75 |
| July | 7,000,736.76 | 3,285,119.20 | 196,584.82 | 871,466.15 | 11,353,906.93 |
| August | 8,044,549.07 | 1,919,106.60 | 414,927.63 | 897,065.47 | 11,275,648.77 |
| September | 7,753,949.90 | 468,436.43 | 367,264.09 | 893,706.62 | 9,483,357.04 |
| October | 9,262,223.87 | 992,577.11 | 825,062.54 | 1,068,068.84 | 12,147,932.36 |
| November | 9,429,111.28 | 3,604,126.00 | 517,551.15 | 1,096,570.81 | 14,647,359.24 |
| December | 9,558,665.10 | 6,357,949.52 | 806,786.71 | 1,228,984.44 | 17,952,385.77 |
| **1935** | | | | | |
| January | 11,088,291.17 | 8,263,342.53 | 715,971.69 | 1,473,578.89 | 21,541,184.28 |
| February | 11,201,503.68 | 7,255,603.62 | 560,526.43 | 1,353,977.01 | 20,371,610.74 |
| March | 13,377,239.44 | 3,201,948.35 | 587,777.45 | 1,512,126.95 | 18,679,092.19 |
| April | 14,413,618.81 | 3,476,007.58 | 566,099.94 | 1,575,191.16 | 20,030,917.49 |
| May | 13,574,667.08 | 3,581,874.04 | 698,944.53 | 1,754,726.13 | 19,610,211.78 |
| June | 11,763,668.09 | 3,085,450.20 | 476,214.02 | 1,542,818.41 | 16,868,150.72 |
| July | 13,649,167.88 | 2,278,020.51 | 278,488.19 | 1,686,761.69 | 17,892,438.27 |
| August | 14,024,835.33 | 307,012.23 | 425,568.96 | 1,703,416.29 | 16,460,832.81 |
| September | 13,583,594.94 | ..... | 401,957.72 | 1,378,051.95 | 15,363,604.61 |
| October | 14,047,498.66 | ..... | 215,361.40 | 1,330,790.84 | 15,593,650.90 |
| November | 10,567,692.75 | ..... | 302,670.05 | 1,204,147.95 | 12,074,510.75 |
| December | 8,116,867.13 | ..... | 141,750.20 | 1,130,300.96 | 9,388,918.29 |
| **Total** | **$327,632,707.85** | **$68,647,872.94** | **$10,049,718.53** | **$30,716,036.96** | **$437,046,336.28** |
| Audit Adjustment † | +159,011.05 | +204,304.55 | +77,187.35 | —240,971.47 | +199,531.48 |
| **Adjusted Total** | **$327,791,718.90** | **$68,852,177.49** | **$10,126,905.88** | **$30,475,065.49** | **$437,245,867.76††** |

* Exclusive of work relief provided by the Federal Works Program of 1935 and employment provided by the Civil Works Administration program of 1933-1934.

** Work relief expenditures prior to April, 1934, represent principally allocations to the State Highway Department to provide employment on the highways to able-bodied relief receipients. Since this work was regular highway employment, the persons placed on jobs are not included as work relief cases in Table I.

† Periodically, the records of the Relief Administration are audited, and it becomes necessary to make accounting adjustments which cannot be assigned to specific months.

†† In addition to this sum, transfers totaling $1,337,037.01 and $378,373.71, respectively, were made from unemployment relief funds to the State Old Age Assistance Fund and to the Rural Resettlement Corporation, bringing the grand total of expenditures from unemployment relief funds to $438,961,278.48.

TABLE IV—EXPENDITURES FROM STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS FOR DIRECT RELIEF, BY TYPE AND BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH AND YEAR | Food | Fuel | Shoes and clothing | Medical care | Rent | Water and light | Cash | Other* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1932** | | | | | | | | | |
| September .... | $1,062,303.51 | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $1,062,303.51 |
| October ..... | 2,282,659.25 | 6,290.04 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2,067.24 | 2,291,016.53 |
| November .... | 3,297,126.50 | 62,296.59 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 18,630.04 | 3,378,053.13 |
| December .... | 4,558,367.52 | 139,997.66 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 17,210.00 | 4,715,575.18 |
| **1933** | | | | | | | | | |
| January ..... | 5,243,905.66 | 214,285.22 | 1,046.57 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 18,012.53 | 5,477,249.98 |
| February .... | 5,659,058.87 | 280,426.20 | 55,669.72 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 17,302.11 | 6,012,456.90 |
| March ..... | 6,723,370.79 | 292,257.87 | 95,753.71 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 35,003.14 | 7,146,385.51 |
| April ..... | 6,089,299.74 | 54,037.50 | 95,235.88 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 136,465.92 | 6,375,039.04 |
| May ..... | 7,021,739.47 | 34,623.39 | 85,101.42 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 180,562.25 | 7,322,026.53 |
| June ..... | 6,612,602.54 | 15,228.96 | 44,325.99 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 121,984.77 | 6,794,142.26 |
| July ..... | 5,844,139.47 | 12,652.80 | 43,817.77 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 60,106.89 | 5,960,716.93 |
| August ..... | 6,038,829.22 | 14,160.72 | 68,318.91 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 14,839.34 | 6,136,148.19 |
| September ... | 5,218,256.72 | 14,776.36 | 165,005.63 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 22,271.06 | 5,420,309.77 |
| October ..... | 5,272,895.93 | 79,627.49 | 162,847.84 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 20,488.53 | 5,535,859.79 |
| November .... | 5,679,308.97 | 378,569.08 | 190,145.40 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 11,132.96 | 6,259,156.41 |
| December .... | 5,799,655.79 | 298,922.56 | 219,127.86 | 1,639.10 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 34,720.32 | 6,354,065.63 |
| **1934** | | | | | | | | | |
| January ..... | 5,396,351.83 | 234,315.34 | 287,422.43 | 51,450.05 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 34,914.33 | 6,004,453.98 |
| February .... | 5,115,307.26 | 459,742.23 | 381,648.92 | 127,587.96 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 32,804.00 | 6,117,090.37 |
| March ..... | 6,261,564.28 | 845,426.65 | 419,607.45 | 163,630.33 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 63,116.28 | 7,753,344.99 |
| April ..... | 5,943,183.80 | 364,194.92 | 366,049.58 | 231,692.24 | 3,188.76 | ..... | ..... | 81,182.17 | 6,989,491.47 |
| May ..... | 6,347,965.00 | 122,388.13 | 443,489.06 | 237,362.70 | 12,157.07 | ..... | ..... | 85,605.63 | 7,248,967.59 |
| June ..... | 5,866,092.04 | 77,900.93 | 572,062.53 | 193,730.67 | 11,799.27 | ..... | ..... | 99,387.78 | 6,820,973.22 |
| July ..... | 6,066,843.03 | 81,843.61 | 627,323.60 | 190,638.45 | 7,988.88 | ..... | ..... | 26,099.19 | 7,000,736.76 |
| August ..... | 7,108,494.78 | 103,353.58 | 689,396.29 | 114,976.25 | 11,946.05 | ..... | ..... | 16,382.12 | 8,044,549.07 |
| September ... | 6,845,765.17 | 167,205.03 | 628,969.41 | 97,788.73 | 11,377.89 | ..... | ..... | 2,843.67 | 7,753,949.90 |
| October ..... | 7,898,607.83 | 552,889.23 | 646,192.45 | 128,732.21 | 34,522.67 | ..... | ..... | 1,279.48 | 9,262,223.87 |
| November .... | 6,134,161.40 | 791,687.63 | 693,344.13 | 155,510.74 | 49,460.29 | ..... | 1,604,931.36 | 15.73 | 9,429,111.28 |
| December .... | 5,037,606.75 | 655,662.59 | 733,247.77 | 156,367.04 | 112,227.04 | ..... | 2,863,531.64 | 22.27 | 9,558,665.10 |
| **1935** | | | | | | | | | |
| January ..... | 4,745,107.17 | 938,807.53 | 603,358.40 | 201,786.20 | 222,422.49 | ..... | 4,376,809.38 | ..... | 11,088,291.17 |
| February .... | 3,538,095.71 | 582,808.51 | 1,517,941.27 | 197,777.82 | 135,696.79 | 294.86 | 5,228,888.72 | ..... | 11,201,503.68 |
| March ..... | 5,131,681.26 | 756,153.64 | 1,113,006.20 | 307,251.12 | 270,535.10 | 1,797.04 | 5,724,127.52 | 72,687.56 | 13,377,239.44 |
| April ..... | 5,517,377.62 | 463,212.74 | 1,207,626.11 | 399,450.63 | 293,245.21 | 5,290.37 | 6,353,638.83 | 173,777.30 | 14,413,618.81 |
| May ..... | 5,463,643.72 | 172,366.27 | 891,247.55 | 374,277.13 | 302,516.86 | 9,479.19 | 6,343,135.52 | 18,000.84 | 13,574,667.08 |
| June ..... | 4,762,827.98 | 121,727.71 | 997,868.40 | 284,306.37 | 314,879.92 | 14,258.58 | 5,267,933.68 | 134.55** | 11,763,668.09 |
| July ..... | 5,499,389.70 | 126,275.97 | 1,406,345.68 | 202,278.44 | 393,727.29 | 25,315.97 | 5,993,080.45 | 2,754.38 | 13,649,167.88 |
| August ..... | 5,841,253.05 | 154,268.67 | 1,053,826.21 | 241,359.22 | 414,374.70 | 33,035.96 | 6,278,348.25 | 8,369.27 | 14,024,835.33 |
| September ... | 5,641,621.50 | 207,174.60 | 1,041,552.10 | 225,452.82 | 455,755.16 | 35,757.08 | 5,976,745.58 | 463.90** | 13,583,594.94 |
| October ..... | 5,520,374.33 | 466,608.50 | 1,048,421.09 | 284,887.23 | 476,597.36 | 41,156.54 | 6,209,451.22 | 2.39 | 14,047,498.66 |
| November .... | 3,828,798.52 | 308,185.25 | 655,424.41 | 207,357.78 | 311,887.34 | 30,051.15 | 5,225,993.70 | 5.40** | 10,567,692.75 |
| December .... | 2,382,359.99 | 283,610.40 | 396,799.75 | 203,547.45 | 129,796.85 | 19,747.78 | 4,700,483.32 | 521.59 | 8,116,867.13 |
| **Total** ..... | **$214,297,993.67** | **$10,935,962.10** | **$19,648,567.49** | **$4,980,838.68** | **$3,976,102.99** | **$216,184.52** | **$72,147,099.17** | **$1,429,959.23** | **$327,632,707.85** |

* Includes homeless shelters, rehabilition of shoes and clothing, community market establishment, thrift gardens and, prior to September, 1934, children's camps.
** Negative figures resulting from cancellation of commitments previously recorded.

TABLE V—EXPENDITURES FROM STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS FOR WORK RELIEF, BY TYPE AND BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935 *

| MONTH AND YEAR | WORK DIVISION PROGRAM | | | | Department of Highways | Other** | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wages and salaries | Materials and equipment | Compensation reserve | Total | | | |
| **1932** | | | | | | | |
| September | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... |
| October | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 21,662.60 | 244.43 | 21,907.03 |
| November | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 408,102.85 | 45,440.51 | 453,543.36 |
| December | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 761,739.44 | 31,868.60 | 793,608.04 |
| **1933** | | | | | | | |
| January | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 419,515.44 | 46,927.06 | 466,442.50 |
| February | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 693,170.77 | 53,674.00 | 746,844.77 |
| March | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 568,482.89 | 19,755.09 | 588,237.98 |
| April | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 441,247.71 | 27,893.00 | 469,140.71 |
| May | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 804,247.57 | 26,907.67 | 831,155.24 |
| June | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 427,895.89 | 26,339.32 | 454,235.21 |
| July | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 345,090.01 | 12,327.92 | 357,417.93 |
| August | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 316,321.90 | 17,667.02 | 333,988.92 |
| September | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 550,099.13 | 10,006.42 | 560,105.55 |
| October | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 757,020.61 | 12,434.42 | 769,455.03 |
| November | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 465,912.68 | 34,725.89 | 500,638.57 |
| December | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 252,293.99 | 27,757.27 | 280,051.26 |
| **1934** | | | | | | | |
| January | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 241,836.63 | 9,570.53 | 251,407.16 |
| February | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 85,725.29 | 8,277.64 | 94,002.93 |
| March | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 71,105.73 | 6,056.54 | 77,162.27 |
| April | 4,218,282.28 | 490.99 | 152,775.55 | 4,371,548.82 | 38,654.48 | 10,919.69 | 4,421,122.99 |
| May | 3,830,422.00 | 13,256.57 | 74,939.85 | 3,918,618.42 | 22,920.76 | 88,527.50 | 4,030,066.68 |
| June | 3,932,684.27 | 37,101.50 | 10,496.10 | 3,980,281.87 | 4,794.17 | 85,688.85 | 4,070,764.89 |
| July | 3,100,322.88 | 39,399.72 | 68,029.00 | 3,207,751.60 | 6,565.21 | 70,802.39 | 3,285,119.20 |
| August | 1,735,450.54 | 75,785.29 | ..... | 1,811,235.83 | 1,425.06 | 106,445.71 | 1,919,106.60 |
| September | 239,822.53 | 146,760.40 | 81,853.50 | 468,436.43 | ..... | ..... | 468,436.43 |
| October | 924,213.01 | 61,508.85 | 6,855.25 | 992,577.11 | ..... | ..... | 992,577.11 |
| November | 3,520,292.70 | 83,833.30 | ..... | 3,604,126.00 | ..... | ..... | 3,604,126.00 |
| December | 6,215,026.34 | 128,780.18 | 14,143.00 | 6,357,949.52 | ..... | ..... | 6,357,949.52 |
| **1935** | | | | | | | |
| January | 8,046,738.31 | 216,604.22 | ..... | 8,263,342.53 | ..... | ..... | 8,263,342.53 |
| February | 7,044,457.56 | 146,886.06 | 64,260.00 | 7,255,603.62 | ..... | ..... | 7,255,603.62 |
| March | 3,088,337.69 | 113,610.66 | ..... | 3,201,948.35 | ..... | ..... | 3,201,948.35 |
| April | 3,356,134.55 | 119,873.03 | ..... | 3,476,007.58 | ..... | ..... | 3,476,007.58 |
| May | 3,413,969.33 | 167,904.71 | ..... | 3,581,874.04 | ..... | ..... | 3,581,874.04 |
| June | 2,967,906.64 | 117,543.56 | ..... | 3,085,450.20 | ..... | ..... | 3,085,450.20 |
| July | 2,187,394.89 | 90,625.62 | ..... | 2,278,020.51 | ..... | ..... | 2,278,020.51 |
| August | 268,892.69 | 38,119.54 | ..... | 307,012.23 | ..... | ..... | 307,012.23 |
| September | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| October | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| November | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| December | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| **Total** | **$58,090,348.21** | **$1,598,084.20** | **$473,352.25** | **$60,161,784.66** | **$7,705,830.81** | **$780,257.47** | **$68,647,872.94** |

* Exclusive of work relief provided by the Federal Works Program of 1935 and employment provided by the Civil Works Administration program of 1933-1934.

** Includes the following work projects: Pymatuning Dam, Indiantown Gap, gypsy moth and Japanese beetle control, employment services and federal research projects.

TABLE VI—EXPENDITURES FROM STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SPECIAL PROGRAMS, BY TYPE AND BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1932—DECEMBER, 1935

| MONTH AND YEAR | Veterans' relief | Transients and homeless | Emergency education | College student aid | Commodity purchasing and processing | Other* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1932** | | | | | | | |
| September | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... | $..... |
| October | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| November | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| December | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| **1933** | | | | | | | |
| January | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| February | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| March | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| April | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| May | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| June | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,110.05 | 1,110.05 |
| July | 15,589.31 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 912.50 | 16,501.81 |
| August | 15,355.13 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 695.73 | 16,050.86 |
| September | 15,854.78 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 805.84 | 16,660.62 |
| October | 15,702.35 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 785.87 | 16,488.22 |
| November | 16,152.21 | 7,513.43 | 19,661.09 | ..... | ..... | 896.12 | 44,222.85 |
| December | 8,607.70 | 15,524.75 | 70,955.90 | ..... | ..... | 846.69 | 95,935.04 |
| **1934** | | | | | | | |
| January | 12,587.33 | 36,389.30 | 98,001.81 | ..... | ..... | 923.56 | 147,902.00 |
| February | 12,662.37 | 38,957.21 | 132,347.35 | ..... | ..... | 6,425.19 | 190,392.12 |
| March | 12,396.62 | 43,698.10 | 152,995.97 | 49,554.80 | ..... | 725.17 | 259,370.66 |
| April | 14,465.85 | 76,885.75 | 149,706.30 | 63,275.47 | ..... | 1,463.98 | 305,797.35 |
| May | 18,566.47 | 101,150.04 | 83,564.23 | 61,299.91 | ..... | 609.78 | 265,190.43 |
| June | 15,894.37 | 122,506.44 | 15,563.99 | 19,323.80 | ..... | 1,300.40 | 174,589.00 |
| July | 24,159.37 | 136,922.18 | 28,510.33 | 1,541.61 | ..... | 5,451.33 | 196,584.82 |
| August | 24,308.15 | 189,507.09 | 41,028.14 | ..... | 155,302.25 | 4,782.00 | 414,927.63 |
| September | 18,031.93 | 156,986.01 | 27,486.64 | 29,478.54 | 130,953.24 | 4,327.73 | 367,264.09 |
| October | 39,951.17 | 228,963.26 | 35,367.53 | 70,465.40 | 445,336.82 | 4,978.36 | 825,062.54 |
| November | 36,719.02 | 226,703.22 | 75,412.35 | 96,280.65 | 79,188.52 | 3,247.39 | 517,551.15 |
| December | 20,997.18 | 259,328.90 | 114,976.06 | 72,636.05 | 336,318.98 | 2,529.54 | 806,786.71 |
| **1935** | | | | | | | |
| January | 51,198.64 | 255,271.92 | 211,351.69 | 99,865.08 | 96,613.59 | 1,670.86 | 715,971.69 |
| February | 28,086.62 | 232,355.70 | 204,603.70 | 88,177.45 | 5,703.42 | 1,599.54 | 560,526.43 |
| March | 34,516.94 | 227,793.97 | 229,966.41 | 87,344.54 | 6,077.23 | 2,078.36 | 587,777.45 |
| April | 33,097.01 | 202,029.91 | 203,948.79 | 87,581.72 | 17,492.58 | 21,949.93 | 566,099.94 |
| May | 65,671.17 | 285,116.70 | 168,968.86 | 83,441.55 | 30,809.29 | 64,936.96 | 698,944.53 |
| June | 72,187.37 | 201,959.32 | 120,011.88 | 35,158.59 | 15,047.62 | 31,849.24 | 476,214.02 |
| July | 6,806.31 | 161,098.08 | 127,131.46 | ..... | 19,831.73** | 3,284.07 | 278,488.19 |
| August | 2,991.31 | 244,002.52 | 184,410.65 | ..... | 12,079.99** | 6,244.47 | 425,568.96 |
| September | 759.98 | 177,339.74 | 132,245.78 | ..... | 7,856.41 | 83,755.81 | 401,957.72 |
| October | 5,230.41 | 129,097.82 | 50,452.23 | ..... | 935.53 | 29,645.41 | 215,361.40 |
| November | 36,023.84 | 148,249.13 | 12,639.63 | ..... | 116.82 | 105,640.63 | 302,670.05 |
| December | 11,545.59 | 63,846.54 | 9,309.89 | ..... | 9,138.93 | 47,909.25 | 141,750.20 |
| **Total** | **$686,116.50** | **$3,969,197.03** | **$2,700,618.57** | **$945,425.16** | **$1,304,979.51** | **$443,381.76** | **$10,049,718.53** |

* Includes medical expense fund of Pennsylvania Child Health Committee, aid for self-help cooperatives, teachers' training institutes and vocational readjustment camps for women, transportation of stranded populations, special highway work relief, CWA clean-up, Rural Rehabilitation Corporation, work relief clean-up and supervisors' training program. Since August, 1934, children's camps are included under this heading.

** Negative figures resulting from cancellation of commitments previously reported.

## TABLE VII—EXPENDITURES FOR DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF, BY COUNTIES, SEPTEMBER, 1932, THROUGH

| COUNTY | Total Sept. 1932—Aug. 1934 | 1934 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | September | October | November | December | January | February | March | April |
| Adams | $ 247,126.40 | $ 10,043.99 | $ 10,111.87 | $ 10,337.43 | $ 15,806.58 | $ 23,650.56 | $ 31,198.22 | $ 22,466.08 | $ 24,207.64 |
| Allegheny | 31,171,961.43 | 1,690,825.74 | 2,066,085.35 | 2,349,142.43 | 3,001,203.29 | 3,896,113.19 | 3,886,877.48 | 3,362,475.44 | 3,472,367.82 |
| Armstrong | 1,062,729.60 | 59,882.55 | 79,910.08 | 90,957.68 | 101,920.23 | 117,360.78 | 111,643.03 | 99,263.94 | 90,383.00 |
| Beaver | 2,148,375.01 | 96,130.68 | 134,204.42 | 164,166.22 | 212,769.50 | 224,610.61 | 223,274.58 | 184,193.30 | 214,448.25 |
| Bedford | 666,592.98 | 31,228.12 | 40,304.44 | 56,143.68 | 73,138.63 | 79,978.51 | 85,865.63 | 58,845.04 | 66,462.80 |
| Berks | 3,612,222.02 | 132,705.05 | 167,869.36 | 251,452.51 | 274,090.28 | 338,436.46 | 345,611.36 | 257,296.84 | 301,008.78 |
| Blair | 1,550,077.40 | 77,811.48 | 115,382.12 | 147,266.69 | 177,260.50 | 211,095.16 | 210,567.90 | 159,796.18 | 193,009.19 |
| Bradford | 664,205.46 | 10,650.94 | 15,969.30 | 22,302.23 | 29,717.03 | 36,208.39 | 37,714.06 | 33,651.56 | 32,909.05 |
| Bucks | 789,953.22 | 23,217.79 | 29,715.40 | 46,313.09 | 52,690.87 | 85,724.96 | 82,590.26 | 78,100.24 | 95,715.83 |
| Butler | 891,715.38 | 48,901.64 | 61,427.92 | 81,686.13 | 91,501.22 | 114,821.54 | 98,622.79 | 100,758.12 | 107,138.44 |
| Cambria | 2,617,806.03 | 137,520.43 | 182,813.01 | 236,925.41 | 313,115.40 | 352,993.91 | 276,428.15 | 292,605.14 | 343,661.50 |
| Cameron | 50,633.21 | 973.12 | 1,210.46 | 2,380.97 | 3,471.14 | 4,332.41 | 3,979.19 | 3,682.84 | 4,061.76 |
| Carbon | 692,117.55 | 31,544.06 | 39,566.60 | 52,594.55 | 76,036.18 | 93,810.06 | 98,739.93 | 77,070.97 | 127,213.45 |
| Centre | 744,659.67 | 42,734.91 | 62,696.08 | 80,497.23 | 103,192.53 | 119,959.90 | 98,259.27 | 96,363.43 | 88,555.29 |
| Chester | 981,539.24 | 40,561.44 | 59,851.24 | 93,590.10 | 105,871.51 | 121,390.71 | 140,090.43 | 112,567.17 | 100,492.92 |
| Clarion | 485,827.89 | 20,810.56 | 30,677.53 | 38,896.23 | 42,240.79 | 51,816.88 | 38,915.67 | 38,759.37 | 44,632.64 |
| Clearfield | 2,916,042.80 | 134,403.35 | 169,525.35 | 197,716.58 | 229,267.01 | 258,588.29 | 259,645.97 | 252,443.71 | 234,496.23 |
| Clinton | 551,490.47 | 24,692.95 | 37,686.49 | 47,877.46 | 54,089.65 | 67,602.05 | 57,980.36 | 52,080.96 | 59,144.37 |
| Columbia | 1,064,681.82 | 39,303.73 | 60,656.07 | 89,615.75 | 97,562.24 | 121,928.05 | 128,962.47 | 123,738.23 | 126,199.84 |
| Crawford | 814,413.28 | 20,846.44 | 23,984.18 | 45,717.46 | 54,558.19 | 73,374.94 | 87,414.30 | 52,282.08 | 64,408.47 |
| Cumberland | 741,278.13 | 32,169.42 | 43,924.23 | 56,000.91 | 82,152.42 | 104,350.81 | 104,199.19 | 73,550.08 | 77,718.91 |
| Dauphin | 2,296,273.87 | 148,350.63 | 224,299.91 | 271,347.06 | 311,055.34 | 347,181.67 | 341,507.08 | 295,682.82 | 319,783.57 |
| Delaware | 2,659,493.20 | 137,222.70 | 175,752.96 | 248,443.84 | 270,768.31 | 336,885.94 | 313,981.15 | 267,084.09 | 270,307.98 |
| Elk | 536,860.07 | 20,600.84 | 21,800.10 | 25,445.45 | 33,287.95 | 40,033.81 | 36,607.48 | 32,184.50 | 30,259.93 |
| Erie | 2,175,780.41 | 90,723.52 | 164,802.97 | 221,552.76 | 267,018.62 | 316,852.32 | 339,657.59 | 261,992.82 | 285,710.32 |
| Fayette | 4,693,138.92 | 294,479.43 | 394,111.47 | 460,168.96 | 510,395.20 | 619,060.63 | 517,538.35 | 488,130.96 | 521,942.05 |
| Forest | 75,051.00 | 1,249.55 | 1,489.53 | 2,813.27 | 4,123.05 | 7,415.81 | 6,848.97 | 7,429.21 | 7,164.38 |
| Franklin | 746,931.26 | 32,699.66 | 45,613.39 | 58,130.42 | 72,164.84 | 83,188.85 | 88,735.93 | 62,040.08 | 65,585.29 |
| Fulton | 156,120.61 | 3,619.16 | 5,860.38 | 6,946.70 | 8,318.79 | 11,293.55 | 12,694.70 | 10,017.41 | 10,273.64 |
| Greene | 671,520.68 | 28,832.13 | 51,188.63 | 64,418.07 | 72,061.81 | 93,126.99 | 93,348.07 | 81,119.39 | 74,194.47 |
| Huntingdon | 635,415.46 | 32,553.74 | 44,268.99 | 59,629.34 | 72,011.49 | 85,381.36 | 84,759.96 | 63,923.24 | 74,338.30 |
| Indiana | 1,466,511.84 | 56,073.20 | 73,972.09 | 106,899.60 | 116,055.91 | 135,848.57 | 124,698.58 | 115,067.65 | 107,569.86 |
| Jefferson | 1,175,819.20 | 48,007.12 | 56,925.57 | 87,964.12 | 106,395.51 | 107,392.76 | 109,417.20 | 73,354.20 | 82,973.14 |
| Juniata | 187,049.71 | 10,590.76 | 12,139.50 | 16,840.76 | 20,863.68 | 27,026.50 | 23,216.75 | 15,664.96 | 21,498.69 |
| Lackawanna | 5,699,355.27 | 372,290.26 | 419,544.49 | 493,158.69 | 534,814.23 | 652,381.12 | 593,572.58 | 515,955.44 | 662,364.08 |
| Lancaster | 1,529,188.05 | 95,857.53 | 124,189.24 | 157,576.17 | 181,671.42 | 207,362.84 | 214,600.78 | 193,877.02 | 179,759.68 |
| Lawrence | 1,462,594.86 | 97,157.59 | 148,368.62 | 212,150.31 | 278,015.31 | 291,991.05 | 254,917.36 | 220,879.33 | 231,287.68 |
| Lebanon | 663,778.73 | 30,914.63 | 40,081.36 | 57,338.85 | 75,186.59 | 94,445.06 | 96,344.71 | 67,231.92 | 66,790.22 |
| Lebigh | 2,442,041.10 | 123,395.60 | 170,674.14 | 233,907.35 | 276,055.20 | 329,946.01 | 367,573.87 | 279,661.17 | 298,044.25 |
| Luzerne | 8,535,372.93 | 498,406.74 | 590,959.88 | 603,023.38 | 721,387.95 | 958,232.59 | 817,156.91 | 901,899.96 | 1,059,991.12 |
| Lycoming | 1,444,428.20 | 74,492.58 | 113,000.83 | 134,171.98 | 176,918.55 | 227,824.29 | 213,074.15 | 164,168.22 | 183,370.71 |
| McKean | 551,601.43 | 20,826.27 | 23,554.86 | 34,040.21 | 46,196.59 | 62,906.36 | 58,026.55 | 48,290.73 | 47,999.00 |
| Mercer | 1,713,060.64 | 75,079.19 | 107,571.48 | 178,434.57 | 182,074.62 | 199,525.58 | 188,289.58 | 148,683.65 | 166,250.26 |
| Mifflin | 697,781.56 | 42,529.73 | 54,566.78 | 69,586.64 | 77,027.42 | 93,572.81 | 82,418.57 | 76,463.85 | 62,294.38 |
| Monroe | 413,512.38 | 21,040.92 | 28,391.16 | 23,010.04 | 44,679.65 | 60,365.00 | 64,901.28 | 38,918.12 | 51,450.19 |
| Montgomery | 2,284,286.36 | 103,667.09 | 141,645.23 | 211,534.85 | 251,383.57 | 278,109.82 | 263,657.71 | 226,435.21 | 249,094.34 |
| Montour | 271,749.46 | 14,025.68 | 19,694.61 | 25,908.82 | 36,015.76 | 36,579.31 | 40,946.83 | 30,840.54 | 31,592.93 |
| Northampton | 2,535,267.15 | 110,508.20 | 154,800.13 | 235,136.52 | 274,675.93 | 363,786.75 | 387,904.32 | 290,318.30 | 303,380.59 |
| Northumberland | 2,658,833.51 | 143,904.71 | 179,961.13 | 209,649.70 | 221,911.54 | 287,947.67 | 285,683.31 | 260,340.94 | 279,520.65 |
| Perry | 276,798.18 | 7,820.10 | 9,430.42 | 15,155.11 | 21,976.83 | 30,550.39 | 28,492.45 | 24,581.21 | 27,577.10 |
| Philadelphia | 34,745,777.91 | 1,740,512.80 | 2,011,440.07 | 2,833,514.87 | 3,645,879.83 | 4,236,971.18 | 3,859,173.16 | 3,913,940.74 | 4,193,899.55 |
| Pike | 97,967.71 | 2,521.94 | 1,931.80 | 3,001.41 | 3,957.13 | 5,092.87 | 7,389.01 | 6,081.83 | 6,944.11 |
| Potter | 296,422.96 | 5,531.63 | 10,673.93 | 16,280.26 | 25,336.09 | 37,929.07 | 34,947.23 | 29,792.48 | 30,858.30 |
| Schuylkill | 5,182,070.36 | 256,108.49 | 337,726.38 | 393,785.60 | 444,136.52 | 518,684.66 | 480,049.07 | 411,324.22 | 550,618.52 |
| Snyder | 357,371.82 | 18,166.03 | 20,948.74 | 29,238.75 | 38,494.96 | 45,615.12 | 48,644.63 | 41,600.74 | 41,722.66 |
| Somerset | 1,529,042.95 | 81,066.26 | 113,762.64 | 133,312.99 | 151,292.11 | 188,878.75 | 174,721.96 | 149,839.27 | 166,271.34 |
| Sullivan | 129,925.52 | 2,593.22 | 1,827.07 | 3,154.45 | 4,547.22 | 5,600.66 | 6,249.70 | 5,369.69 | 7,606.22 |
| Susquehanna | 603,957.84 | 11,634.40 | 12,919.55 | 20,791.43 | 32,852.17 | 38,351.95 | 42,897.17 | 39,480.25 | 43,042.44 |
| Tioga | 534,079.67 | 10,001.43 | 16,463.79 | 22,294.26 | 29,254.30 | 33,211.30 | 31,451.11 | 24,994.26 | 27,090.78 |
| Union | 329,224.36 | 12,115.28 | 13,203.45 | 16,547.76 | 24,321.36 | 35,641.06 | 29,321.80 | 27,667.20 | 28,939.64 |
| Venango | 1,503,614.99 | 68,062.80 | 84,832.06 | 129,211.18 | 136,622.61 | 171,724.57 | 141,179.37 | 142,584.96 | 143,490.91 |
| Warren | 680,068.60 | 28,280.69 | 32,346.78 | 49,445.13 | 55,118.03 | 71,482.56 | 63,178.54 | 54,891.10 | 56,787.92 |
| Washington | 2,358,909.62 | 132,256.43 | 172,993.87 | 222,822.17 | 257,132.81 | 319,843.69 | 290,905.36 | 261,384.99 | 256,585.04 |
| Wayne | 369,164.08 | 7,562.29 | 12,581.44 | 17,269.23 | 23,758.16 | 26,811.06 | 29,389.42 | 28,157.03 | 33,314.28 |
| Westmoreland | 4,736,023.37 | 231,049.00 | 287,411.97 | 334,807.58 | 406,545.08 | 486,274.81 | 435,806.90 | 434,868.29 | 426,590.80 |
| Wyoming | 208,143.87 | 6,305.37 | 5,629.09 | 11,427,52 | 18,787.55 | 18,856.87 | 27,401.13 | 23,695.89 | 23,589.40 |
| York | 1,495,027.10 | 49,113.33 | 70,671.66 | 96,776.98 | 135,854.01 | 172,127.15 | 205,134.15 | 174,282.00 | 198,390.78 |
| State-wide | 6,717,779.80 | 115,627.29 | 15,205.34 | 13,591.43 | 26,557.83 | 54,172.79 | 90,114.58 | 15,005.19 | 13,278.72 |
| Total | $167,995,637.56 | $8,222,386.33 | $10,254,800.98 | $13,033,237.28 | $15,916,614.62 | $19,351,633.70 | $18,457,107.30 | $16,579,187.79 | $17,889,626.39 |

* Exclusive of work relief provided by the Federal Works Program of 1935 and employment provided by the Civil Work Administration program of 1933-1934.

DECEMBER, 1935, WITH AMOUNTS BY MONTHS, SEPTEMBER, 1934, THROUGH DECEMBER, 1935 *

| 1935 | | | | | | | | Total Sept. 1932—Dec. 1935 | COUNTY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May | June | July | August | September | October | November | December | | |
| $ 17,254.39 | $ 14,171.51 | $ 13,865.50 | $ 12,670.68 | $ 12,873.92 | $ 12,797.13 | $ 6,033.79 | $ 5,557.46 | $ 490,173.15 | Adams |
| 3,444,235.83 | 2,933,355.35 | 3,141,556.11 | 2,900,116.48 | 2,658,391.52 | 2,708,869.25 | 2,246,016.09 | 1,986,763.33 | 76,916,356.13 | Allegheny |
| 74,068.31 | 82,018.95 | 79,142.69 | 80,364.37 | 92,038.31 | 97,734.42 | 63,719.63 | 33,371.88 | 2,416,509.45 | Armstrong |
| 219,950.72 | 202,566.69 | 203,027.71 | 185,407.92 | 184,783.53 | 180,528.37 | 117,198.49 | 73,189.77 | 4,968,825.77 | Beaver |
| 63,414.14 | 64,612.78 | 67,987.62 | 53,309.44 | 47,546.24 | 43,903.91 | 30,935.62 | 11,400.64 | 1,541,670.22 | Bedford |
| 297,748.53 | 251,178.74 | 257,717.49 | 206,847.83 | 198,695.80 | 224,332.98 | 157,903.88 | 122,106.74 | 7,397,224.65 | Berks |
| 146,714.59 | 144,903.32 | 171,279.48 | 143,737.66 | 149,322.60 | 173,231.39 | 131.981.40 | 78,514.49 | 3,981,951.55 | Blair |
| 25,931.15 | 26,572.59 | 31,028.06 | 27,311.76 | 23,721.56 | 24,408.82 | 11,860.15 | 6,408.69 | 1,060,570.80 | Bradford |
| 83,137.40 | 68,483.90 | 64,912.99 | 57,174.62 | 45,352.38 | 46,176.40 | 36,979.02 | 30,728.01 | 1,716,966.38 | Bucks |
| 109,844.59 | 103,991.21 | 124,350.76 | 107,642.67 | 97,253.69 | 92,442.94 | 42,939.74 | 25,382.59 | 2,300,421.37 | Butler |
| 321,577.12 | 326,793.36 | 318,706.79 | 294,938.32 | 303,511.49 | 288,677.71 | 189,738.74 | 108,162.86 | 6,905,975.37 | Cambria |
| 4,186.59 | 3,179.14 | 4,163.06 | 4,439.35 | 3,040.23 | 1,220.76 | 777.98 | 711.80 | 96,444.01 | Cameron |
| 108,989.50 | 81,623.78 | 83,077.16 | 72,970.93 | 58,700.73 | 74,842.47 | 42,861.73 | 26,392.55 | 1,838,152.20 | Carbon |
| 64,541.30 | 53,745.99 | 70,267.90 | 62,368.54 | 51,396.69 | 52,110.00 | 33,251.12 | 21,566.12 | 1,846,165.97 | Centre |
| 95,448.89 | 80,234.99 | 90,498.30 | 75,999.57 | 73,857.48 | 68,662.22 | 41,657.41 | 35,738.47 | 2,318,052.09 | Chester |
| 39,281.57 | 37,857.63 | 41,237.24 | 37,561.42 | 34,645.59 | 36,952.79 | 25,635.71 | 19,773.56 | 1,065,523.07 | Clarion |
| 196,227.40 | 176,577.45 | 214,308.32 | 195,985.28 | 168,275.64 | 170,693.71 | 114,699.99 | 96,624.45 | 5,985,521.53 | Clearfield |
| 58,482.41 | 52,218.43 | 58,911.21 | 46,918.20 | 40,540.31 | 38,288.43 | 28,045.88 | 26,540.01 | 1,302,589.64 | Clinton |
| 109,678.28 | 97,640.66 | 99,266.16 | 90,085.13 | 72,319.22 | 65,735.89 | 37,977.40 | 22,896.20 | 2,448,247.14 | Columbia |
| 57,478.75 | 55,418.51 | 59,027.32 | 44,315.49 | 48,900.87 | 52,538.21 | 38,048.37 | 36,894.21 | 1,629,621.07 | Crawford |
| 59,559.41 | 55,908.05 | 62,048.79 | 45,142.72 | 42,383.94 | 43,653.45 | 30,168.27 | 17,323.20 | 1,671,531.93 | Cumberland |
| 296,147.20 | 226,866.93 | 229,666.56 | 192,779.65 | 158,389.07 | 167,562.64 | 109,311.35 | 63,593.11 | 5,999.798.46 | Dauphin |
| 243,589.58 | 191,408.76 | 210,781.24 | 188,329.71 | 175,179.62 | 196,108.09 | 149,096.56 | 89,836.91 | 6,124,270.64 | Delaware |
| 31,339.81 | 30,388.43 | 33,973.00 | 31,508.24 | 28,035.44 | 26,668.72 | 14,681.75 | 9,957.43 | 983,632.95 | Elk |
| 250,884.92 | 229,308.83 | 244,055.02 | 190,343.65 | 201,609.48 | 226,664.87 | 167,446.54 | 136,079.72 | 5,770,484.36 | Erie |
| 509,329.92 | 424,643.01 | 464,723.48 | 474,327.47 | 427,218.42 | 470,720.43 | 335,379.28 | 164,119.85 | 11,769,427.83 | Fayette |
| 5,561.73 | 4,639.83 | 5,368.02 | 4,643.59 | 3,834.97 | 3,784.24 | 2,982.21 | 2,979.41 | 147,378.77 | Forest |
| 53,469.16 | 46,499.10 | 49,610.88 | 40,098.68 | 36,829.96 | 34,095.01 | 24,857.90 | 16,495.83 | 1,557,046.24 | Franklin |
| 9,817.21 | 8,727.30 | 10,324.07 | 9,140.96 | 7,960.75 | 7,690.97 | 4,410.40 | 2,217.23 | 285,433.83 | Fulton |
| 68,580.54 | 63,299.93 | 67,149.52 | 53,936.47 | 55,005.49 | 74,106.85 | 47,471.43 | 19,365.30 | 1,678,725.77 | Greene |
| 68,066.50 | 59,151.76 | 65,416.47 | 49,623.05 | 47,258.39 | 44,888.00 | 29,607.68 | 15,330.20 | 1,531,623.93 | Huntingdon |
| 108,762.33 | 106,088.52 | 122,659.64 | 125,405.09 | 120,932.93 | 127,252.23 | 86,020.83 | 55,031.42 | 3,154,850.29 | Indiana |
| 85,113.72 | 81,741.34 | 81,076.60 | 74,017.92 | 73,148.39 | 77,432.10 | 48,393.94 | 30,490.12 | 2,399,662.95 | Jefferson |
| 19,239.75 | 17,316.79 | 19,350.87 | 17,088.23 | 15,243.96 | 14,896.29 | 11,148.60 | 5,603.96 | 454,779.76 | Juniata |
| 616,877.28 | 574,814.23 | 642,217.75 | 590,169.64 | 567,300.17 | 581,472.31 | 439,672.01 | 292,372.10 | 14,248,331.65 | Lackawanna |
| 164,808.07 | 145,567.17 | 158,449.12 | 138,698.96 | 132,280.15 | 135,644.40 | 91,308.73 | 69,026.52 | 3,919,865.85 | Lancaster |
| 221,553.67 | 180,893.45 | 209,508.65 | 184,845.84 | 179,448.17 | 189,539.53 | 124,202.99 | 60,311.34 | 4,547,665.75 | Lawrence |
| 59,670.34 | 56,478.22 | 50,529.72 | 41,654.31 | 39,343.35 | 42,121.53 | 16,459.57 | 7,235.41 | 1,505,604.52 | Lebanon |
| 273,871.47 | 253,976.14 | 273,478.48 | 228,855.36 | 204,612.85 | 232,397.99 | 160,283.05 | 139,455.92 | 6,288,229.95 | Lehigh |
| 1,135,532.97 | 913,356.00 | 996,581.63 | 887,456.83 | 933,438.76 | 885,421.07 | 573,783.61 | 350,336.12 | 21,362,338.45 | Luzerne |
| 166,839.14 | 134,027.08 | 142,277.59 | 116,842.05 | 111,607.32 | 116,835.04 | 79,590.78 | 49,101.26 | 3,648,569.77 | Lycoming |
| 43,858.91 | 33,533.57 | 38,114.39 | 33,947.39 | 31,442.68 | 28,814.75 | 13,653.49 | 14,739.06 | 1,131,546.24 | McKean |
| 157,120.82 | 142,818.74 | 164,909.84 | 130,021.75 | 129,453.89 | 141,114.64 | 82,120.83 | 46,448.56 | 3,952,978.64 | Mercer |
| 55,558.78 | 46,161.50 | 50,030.23 | 44,701.98 | 43,410.53 | 43,912.45 | 34,130.87 | 18,294.65 | 1,592,442.73 | Mifflin |
| 41,634.75 | 34,641.66 | 32,706.12 | 20,272.60 | 17,049.44 | 26,922.70 | 20,891.33 | 15,172.19 | 955,559.53 | Monroe |
| 198,606.01 | 163,224.98 | 158,852.64 | 121,137.05 | 105,115.40 | 95,035.74 | 72,636.55 | 50,813.97 | 4,975,236.52 | Montgomery |
| 22,826.62 | 20,287.00 | 23,175.76 | 19,780.87 | 20,129.85 | 24,133.42 | 15,867.55 | 8,754.10 | 662,309.11 | Montour |
| 250,116.86 | 220,859.21 | 233,711.67 | 203,335.90 | 183,941.41 | 206,531.82 | 121,345.68 | 99,536.45 | 6,175,156.89 | Northampton |
| 268,997.46 | 260,217.39 | 315,304.84 | 286,131.69 | 265,676.99 | 252,171.84 | 185,769.76 | 109,697.84 | 6,471,720.97 | Northumberland |
| 22,525.71 | 20,992.55 | 21,951.17 | 17,473.06 | 17,310.41 | 18,693.59 | 11,193.49 | 8,967.00 | 581,488.77 | Perry |
| 4,195,456.79 | 3,552,680.20 | 3,787,413.16 | 3,550,447.46 | 3,376,806.98 | 3,582,320.66 | 3,034,780.44 | 2,776,122.35 | 89,037,138.15 | Philadelphia |
| 4,873.63 | 3,228.06 | 3,205.61 | 2,322.68 | 1,527.84 | 3,003.95 | 2,551.28 | 2,768.10 | 158,368.96 | Pike |
| 22,058.45 | 17,468.08 | 19,956.69 | 17,827.22 | 13,722.18 | 12,328.13 | 7,936.58 | 6,857.88 | 605,927.16 | Potter |
| 532,956.28 | 470,874.15 | 456,079.38 | 379,218.69 | 397,590.67 | 376,693.93 | 232,737.95 | 96,805.26 | 11,517,460.13 | Schuylkill |
| 35,250.56 | 30,374.16 | 32,662.94 | 27,932.94 | 26,998.08 | 27,498.77 | 18,909.95 | 7,971.94 | 849,402.79 | Snyder |
| 157,157.74 | 143,704.51 | 153,683.80 | 145,954.62 | 135,471.92 | 129,072.74 | 97,403.31 | 50,076.47 | 3,700,713.38 | Somerset |
| 7,697.39 | 7,857.42 | 9,758.58 | 7,659.57 | 5,859.72 | 5,966.19 | 3,465.42 | 2,072.30 | 217,210.34 | Sullivan |
| 35,892.86 | 33,023.39 | 36,422.52 | 35,249.45 | 31,043.24 | 43,560.48 | 36,344.45 | 31,690.81 | 1,129,154.40 | Susquehanna |
| 24,645.80 | 19,919.80 | 23,527.21 | 21,109.44 | 17,987.16 | 16,438.74 | 9,090.91 | 6,414.54 | 867,974.50 | Tioga |
| 24,834.00 | 23,765.54 | 24,210.94 | 20,527.75 | 19,274.64 | 20,270.05 | 11,712.47 | 4,907.03 | 666,484.33 | Union |
| 122,634.28 | 100,668.50 | 110,183.08 | 96,264.07 | 91,084.68 | 93,537.88 | 68,866.29 | 44,037.43 | 3,248,599.66 | Venango |
| 44,181.15 | 42,871.16 | 46,140.43 | 41,432.17 | 33,367.31 | 38,645.27 | 20,654.61 | 12,397.00 | 1,371,288.45 | Warren |
| 252,516.30 | 216,770.62 | 233,522.42 | 199,240.48 | 188,846.95 | 195,661.73 | 141,528.39 | 79,393.02 | 6,780,313.89 | Washington |
| 28,832.93 | 21,669.42 | 25,473.26 | 22,789.50 | 19,560.52 | 19,471.74 | 15,751.28 | 14,336.14 | 715,891.78 | Wayne |
| 396,361.67 | 354,127.00 | 405,770.55 | 359,686.17 | 344,445.89 | 350,567.23 | 267,922.15 | 153,952.37 | 10,412,210.83 | Westmoreland |
| 21,287.17 | 19,418.86 | 21,908.02 | 19,614.76 | 17,652.50 | 20,966.08 | 13,288.88 | 10,691.32 | 488,664.28 | Wyoming |
| 190,947.81 | 160,340.02 | 142,495.37 | 98,566.48 | 103,815.16 | 111,832.75 | 80,675.40 | 58,271.76 | 3,544,321.91 | York |
| 10,904.21 | 25,374.95 | 22,438.80 | 24,127.74 | 18,779.52 | 9,227.83 | 1,923.82 | 20,691.40 | 7,194,801.24 | State-wide |
| $17,156,541.12 | $14,849,118.29 | $15,927,188.39 | $14,331,847.56 | $13,583,594.94 | $14,047,498.66 | $10,567,692.75 | $8,116,867.13 | $396,280,580.79 | Total |

## APPENDIX B

# LAWS CREATING AND DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD

August 19, 1932:

Act 51—Creating the State Emergency Relief Board; prescribing its powers and duties; and making an appropriation of $35,400 for administration expenses.

Act 52—Making an appropriation of $12,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board to be used for unemployment relief.

Act 53—Imposing an emergency sales tax to provide revenue to meet appropriations made for unemployment relief under Act 52.

March 30, 1933:

Act 1A—Appropriating $2,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief during May and June, 1933.

April 12, 1933:

Act 3A—Appropriating $5,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief.

May 3, 1933:

Act 89—Imposing penalties for the improper use of food orders.

May 18, 1933:

Act 130—Authorizing repayment to the Federal Unemployment Relief Fund and the State Emergency Relief Board of relief funds paid into the Motor License Fund in certain cases, and appropriating moneys in the Motor License Fund for that purpose.

Act 131—Amending Act 51 (1932) to authorize the Governor to expend money received from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or any other Federal agency.

Act 133—Requiring county commissioners, poor boards, etc., to furnish information to the State Emergency Relief Board and to exhibit their records upon demand.

May 22, 1933:

Act 172—Appropriating $18,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief and $100,000 for administration expenses.

May 26, 1933:

Act 262—Appropriating $20,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board for the biennium beginning June 1, 1933, contingent upon approval by the voters of an amendment to the Constitution.

June 3, 1933:

Supplement 328—Defining the liability of public or charitable bodies, etc., to pay workmen's compensation to persons injured in work relief employment; and establishing the State Work Relief Compensation Fund.

January 19, 1934:

Act 66—Appropriating $40,000,000 to the State Emergency Relief Board for the period April 1, 1934, to May 31, 1935, money from net profits of State Stores Fund of Pennsylvania's Liquor Stores (cut to $20,000,000 by Governor Pinchot).

September 19, 1934:

Acts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7—Making transfers from various funds to General Fund for Emergency Relief.

Act 8—Appropriating $14,400,000 to make up a deficiency in that amount in profits of State Liquor Stores, as appropriated in Act 66, January 19, 1934.

April 4, 1935:

Act 7—Authorizing municipalities or incorporated districts to acquire office and warehouse space for distributing funds and merchandise for relief.

April 18, 1935:

Act 24—Requiring banks, trust companies and building and loan associations to disclose deposits and investments of persons applying for unemployment relief.

April 24, 1935:

Acts 9A, 10A, 11A and 12A—Making transfers from various funds to General Fund for Emergency Relief.

May 16, 1935:

Act 86—Providing tax of five mills on capital stock of domestic and foreign corporations; increasing rate of tax on capital stock of five marine insurance companies; and appropriating $18,000,000 "only for unemployment relief."

Act 88—Amending P. L. 878, June 7, 1915, covering escheat of property to commonwealth; and appropriating revenues from same to unemployment relief until June 1, 1935.

Act 89—Providing a tax on gross receipts of public utilities and appropriating $2,000,000 for unemployment relief.

Act 90—Providing a documentary stock tax, and appropriating all revenues from same for unemployment relief for one year, from effective date of act.

Act 91—Providing a corporate net income tax for 1935 and 1936 and appropriating all taxes and penalties received and collected in calendar year 1935 for unemployment relief purposes.

May 20, 1935:

Act 14A—Appropriating $3,000,000 to State Emergency Relief Board for purpose of unemployment relief.

May 29, 1935:

Act 109—Requiring applicants for relief to sign a bond on truthfulness of statements.

June 14, 1935:

Act 55—Providing cigarette tax and appropriating all revenues from same collected before June 1, 1936, for unemployment relief purposes.

June 20, 1935:

Act 18A—Making an appropriation to joint legislative committee authorized to conduct relief investigation.

June 21, 1935:

Act 181—Increasing liquid fuels tax and appropriating all revenues from the increase collected before June 1, 1936, for unemployment relief purposes.

June 22, 1935:

Act 184—Amending Act 90, 1935, by further defining taxable documents and persons, associations, and corporations subject to pay the tax.

July 2, 1935:

Act 21A—Appropriating $60,000,000 for relief.

July 9, 1935:

Act 24A—Appropriating to State Emergency Relief Board donations made for unemployment relief.

July 15, 1935:

Act 316—Providing that the statute of limitation shall not be a defense against claims of poor districts for the maintenance and support of persons who are public charges, including mental patients.

# APPENDIX C

# MEMBERS OF THE STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD

**Governor (Chairman)**

Gifford Pinchot, August 19, 1932—January 15, 1935

George H. Earle, January 15, 1935—

**Lieutenant Governor**

Edward C. Shannon, August 19, 1932—January 15, 1935

Thomas C. Kennedy, January 15, 1935—

**Auditor General**

Charles A. Waters, August 19, 1932—May 1, 1933

Frank Baldwin, May 2, 1933—

**State Treasurer**

Edward Martin, August 19, 1932—May 1, 1933

Charles A. Waters, May 1, 1933—

**Speaker of the House of Representatives**

C. J. Goodnough, August 19, 1932—November 30, 1932

Grover C. Talbot, January 3, 1933—November 30, 1934

Wilson G. Sarig, January 1, 1935—

**Advisory Members**

William A. Schnader, Attorney General, August 19, 1932—January 15, 1935

Charles J. Margiotti, Attorney General, January 15, 1935—

Alice F. Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, August 19, 1932—January 15, 1935

Dr. J. Evans Scheehle, Secretary of Welfare, January 15, 1935—

# 3165-214